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ABSTRACT

This monograph synthesizes and summarizes current ideas and actions concerning teacher-community linkages. Its main emphasis is on developing countries, where primary and lower secondary schools are major policy tools in the drive for national and economic development and where most people live and will continue to live in rural areas. Based on an analysis of teachers' roles in the community, case studies of teacher education and training for community roles are described. The monograph also proposes that further investigation be undertaken to learn how teachers might be best trained for these roles. Chapter 1 discusses schools and community development; chapter 2's topic is community schools. In chapter 3, teachers are discussed, and teachers' tasks are the topic of chapter 4. Chapter 5 details case studies in teacher education and training in Tanzania, Thailand, Australia, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka Sierra Leone, Canada, and Rwanda. The topic of chapter 6 is "Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research." A survey of the relationships between teachers and village communities in Sri Lanka is appended. (JM)

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LIFELONG TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Linda A. Dove

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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FOREWORD

It was in March, 1972, that the Governing Board of the Unesco Institute for Education (UIE) decided that the Institute should focus its work in the field of lifelong education. The Institute immediately mounted a series of studies on the concept of lifelong education and its implications for both in-school and out-of-school education, especially in the areas of curriculum development, evaluation and teacher education.

During the past one decade, UIE has carried out a number of studies of different types in this field and has published them under four major series, viz., (i) UIE Monographs, (ii) UIE Case Studies, (iii) Advances in Lifelong Education, and (iv) Studies on Post-literacy and Continuing Education in the framework of lifelong education. The present study is chiefly in the area of teacher education, viewed in the broader perspective of lifelong education, and is being published in the UIE Monographs Series.

The concept of lifelong education emphasizes the role of the school and the community, besides the home and the work-place, in the total learning of individuals as well as their collectives. Therefore, an intimate relationship between the school and the community needs to be established in order to facilitate dynamic interaction between the two for better education, better development and higher quality of life of both school children and community members. The teacher, among others, plays a pivotal role in establishing such a relationship and in determining the kind and quality of interaction resulting from it.

To learn *from* the community and, at the same time, to learn *for* the community are very worthwhile goals of school education. Furthermore, the participation of both school children and teachers in pertinent programmes of community development makes school education more functional and meaningful. Similarly, the participation of the community in the development of the school, and also the profiting of members of the community from the teacher and from the school's facilities for learning and development are indeed valuable objectives. In fact, in many developing countries the teacher is expected to help the community members both in educational tasks such as literacy and adult education and in developmental tasks within the wider framework of national development. All these worthwhile objectives and functions anticipate a rather complex and multi-dimensional relationship between the teacher and the community. But such a relationship is not easy to establish unless special measures are taken through educational policy, overall development policy, teacher training programmes and the like, to change the teacher's profile on the one hand and the community ethos on the other.

This exploratory study examines some of these critical issues. It analyses some of the prevalent ideas and action concerning the reciprocal relationship between the teacher and the community, and examines several concrete cases in order to understand the teacher's multiple roles and functions in community development and their implications for the initial and continuing education of teachers. What is more, it points to a number of problems, either implicitly or explicitly, for further reflection and research. It is hoped that the monograph based on this study will be of assistance to policy makers, teacher educators and researchers in a variety of ways.

Our deep appreciation and sincere thanks are due to Dr. Linda Dave for making a valuable contribution to UIE and to the vital field of teacher-community linkages by conducting the study and preparing this monograph.

Ravindra H. Dave
Director
Unesco Institute for Education

INTRODUCTION

The teacher-and-community theme is of contemporary importance in policy-making in countries which are trying to use their educational systems for national development through closer school-community links. International agencies throughout the last three decades have encouraged the view that teachers must work not only in the classroom but also in the community. Unesco, in particular, was in the vanguard in promoting a new concept of what teachers' roles involve:

> "The teacher's professional profile is changing ... with the opening of the school to the community and with the enlarging functions of the school. The teacher now needs to collaborate more closely with members of the community and with parents, and a growing proportion of teachers require skills appropriate to the education of adults in formal and non-formal settings." (1)

In a number of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, innovative projects in education and community development involve teachers in roles and tasks which take them outside their traditional work place, the school and classroom.

This monograph sets out to synthesise and summarise current ideas and action concerning teacher-community linkages. The main emphasis is on developing countries where the primary and lower secondary schools are major policy tools in the drive for national and economic development and where most people live and will continue to live in rural areas. Based on an analysis of teachers' roles in the community, some case studies of teacher education and training for community roles are described. The final pages aim to stimulate further investigation into how teachers may best be trained for these innovative roles. This is an important task, much neglected in practice and rarely undertaken effectively.

Over the past two decades, the popularity of schools and their teachers as tools of national policy has waxed and waned. In the early 1960's, governments invested heavily in mass school systems but expectations that schools would be able to launch economic take-off were not fulfilled. Instead, schools were blamed for producing educated and semi-educated school-leavers whom the modern sector of the economy could not employ. The way out of the dilemma, advocated for a time, was to build up out-of-school non-formal education which, it was argued, would be cheaper, more flexible and adaptable to developmental needs. But experience soon showed that non-formal institutions are not necessarily cheaper and, anyway, tend to become low-status replicas of traditional schools.

The current thinking is that formal and non-formal educational institutions are here to stay and that both are needed. Schools have proved to be remarkably resilient against attack. No modern state envisages their demise nor proposes a viable alternative method of mass education for youth. Schools in the 1980's are in general very similar to those of the 1960's. Their core functions are to instil basic knowledge and skills in the younger generation and to allocate them into different social and occupational roles. In their *modus operandi* they still rely on traditional approaches the elements of which are classroom, teachers, blackboards and textbooks.

The mood of the 1980's, disciplined by global economic recession, is one of sober reflection on experience and caution about innovation. The main emphasis today is on the improvement of traditional classroom teaching and learning, reflecting widespread concern with standards and a demand for schools to "get back to basics". A secondary emphasis in current thinking is that there should be close co-operation between formal and non-formal educational institutions, the latter performing a vital role in the education and training of out-of-school youth and adults. Some of the most exciting non-formal projects are managed outside Ministries of Education. There is an awareness that inter-sectoral co-operation is essential if comprehensive universal lifelong education is to become a reality.

Schools, then, have swung back into favour as tools of policy but they are now expected to work in partnership with non-formal agencies. Fashion in the approach to the training of teachers has fluctuated similarly. In the early 1960's, expansionary policies for schools led to the expansions of teacher recruitment and training. The drive for more teachers often meant that they were hastily and poorly prepared for their tasks. Public confidence in them was low. They were the most expensive item in educational budgets, their salaries alone forming up to 90 per cent of recurrent costs. New technologies offered the possibility of low-cost teacher-substitutes - teaching machines, radio, television and so on. But the lesson was quickly learned that many of the new devices were themselves very costly and largely ineffective without the support of teachers as managers and interpreters. Today, the spotlight is back on the teachers. They are once again regarded as crucial figures in teaching and learning processes both inside and outside the school. They are the links between school and community, the potential integrators of school and community learning.

The concept of teachers as workers with and in the community has a long history. But the lessons of hard experience show that teachers do not and cannot easily extend their roles from the classroom into the community. If they are to do so, they must receive much more help and support than they have had in the past. Those who plan training programmes must be more aware of the social, economic and professional factors which facilitate or inhibit community-roles for teachers. Conventional college-based programmes offering initial training must give way to more community-oriented and lifelong systems of teacher preparation and support.

NOTE

1. *The Changing Role of the Teacher and its Influence on Preparation for the Profession and on In-service Training.* Paris: Unesco, 1975, p. 23.

CHAPTER 1

SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The tasks of teachers largely derive from the roles and functions of schools. In this chapter, we examine these roles and functions at the level of society, community and the individual. The argument here is that schools are effective under certain conditions in serving industrial societies and preparing individuals for their roles in them. Schools have yet to prove, however, that they are equally effective in serving communities.

Schools and Industrial Society

It is a commonplace observation of textbooks on the sociology of education that schools play a role in both social transmission and social transformation. But what precisely is this role and to what extent are schools effective?

Western systems of mass schooling arose in the last century as a response to the need of newly industrialised nation-states for a new type of work-force and citizen. Schools transmitted the new culture of industrial society to the children of rural peasants. They replaced other agencies as the main vehicles for imparting literacy (1). They taught children numeracy, codes of social conduct, civic and moral virtues, work disciplines, standards of hygiene and the basic manual skills appropriate to the new urban working class.

In the present century, egalitarian influences, shortages of skilled manpower and international competition encouraged the democratisation of schooling. For the first time children from the working classes were able to rise socially and occupationally through effort, perseverance and high achievement in school. Schools were not so much the catalysts of social transformation but reinforced changes in society and economy which were already under way.

Schools and Late-Developing Societies

> "The school has become an extremely important agent of socialisation in Nigeria and other developing countries. For many children, school provides a transitional experience from the values and behaviours of traditional life into those required in the modern sectors of society. For many rural children, it teaches them how to live effectively in the city." (2)

This passage from a contemporary teacher training textbook suggests that the role of schools in late-developing societies has been similar. But the conditions are very different (3). When the ex-colonies of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America became independent and started to develop their economies, Western-type elementary, normal and a few secondary schools had for many years been producing literate and numerate people who would become the first leaders of government and industry. These people rose very high, very fast, although many had only six or seven years of schooling. Then, when mass schooling began in the independence era of the 1950's and 1960's, schools opened the gate into modern sector jobs for many first generation school leavers. But soon the demand for such jobs outstripped the capacity of the modern sector of the economy and government to provide them. Schools were blamed for over-producing manpower, ill-adapted to life on the farms in the traditional sector of the economy.

Schools were also unsuccessful in the nation-building tasks expected of them in late-developing countries. Economic growth in the 1950's and 1960's was marked by widening disparities in income, living standards and life-chances for different groups. Imbalances between ethnic groups, urban and rural areas, wage-earners and the self-employed were exacerbated by the tendency for schools to be located in areas of relative wealth and social advantage. This unevenness in the provision of schooling created friction, which the revision of curricula to build up civic loyalties did little to counteract.

Schooling and the Individual

To argue that schools have been less effective tools of social and economic development in the conditions of the later twentieth century than they were in the nineteenth century is not to suggest that they have been totally ineffective. Schools contribute to the maintenance and transformation of society through their influence on the individuals who enrol in them. What precisely are the qualities in individuals which they are good at encouraging?

Through their curricula, formal and informal, through their teaching-learning styles and their credentialling procedures, schools teach children a number of different attitudes and competencies. They are fairly efficient at teaching the rudiments of literacy and numeracy and in giving practice in certain basic mental skills such as memorisation and classification. They can also develop skills such as comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation. But these higher order mental operations are rarely exercised at the lower end of the school ladder where the majority of children end their school-days.

As important, perhaps, as the mental skills are the attitudes and values which schools encourage. They teach children that if they work hard as individuals over a sustained period of time they can, given the talent, reap personal rewards in terms of high achievement, self-esteem and social recognition. Schooled individuals learn to respect disciplined routines of work, purposive behaviour based on rational and scientific approaches to problem-solving and specialist knowledge and expertise.

Schools and Communities

Thus, schools are powerful transmitters of the culture of modern industrial society. But they have proved less effective in transmitting certain types of knowledge, skills and values conducive to the development of the community whose culture mediates between the individual and the larger society (4). Children in school often learn to despise traditional community knowledge and customs in favour of "book learning". They hear about the dignity of manual labour but seldom learn to value it. They hear that they should co-operate with and serve the community but when they pass or fail their examinations it is they themselves as individuals who earn the credit or blame. Most importantly, throughout their history, mass school systems have motivated talented individuals to move *out* of their communities to seek work and wealth in the wider society.

The Rural Community

Schools have been powerful instruments in the erosion of communities in *rural* areas in particular. They alienate youth from subsistence agricultural production, traditional craft-based enterprise and the rural life-style. Young people drift into urban areas. The rural community loses their energies and skills, even if it may benefit from the cash sometimes sent home. The face-to-face contact and sense of belonging across generations diminishes and the life-breath of the community weakens.

This is, of course, a simplified caricature of the complicated process of decline in rural communities. The influence of schooling is only part of the story (5). Larger economic, technological and political factors are also at play. In the pre-industrial era, communities based on personal contact and stable social and occupational relationships were perpetuated from generation to generation. Before the days of modern communications, communities in rural areas had to be more or less self-sufficient in terms of the basic necessities of life. They normally also had their own traditions of government. They could remain largely unaffected by outside influences. Even today, communities in remote rural areas still manage to maintain their cohesive culture. But such communities are under threat. Governments in modern nation-states, anxious to achieve national unity, attempt to incorporate the political structures of traditional communities into the national system. Rural areas supply food and raw materials for the cities. Cash cropping discourages subsistence farming and traditional craft production.

Current arguments in favour of rural development combine elements of fantasy and realism. There are, of course, the romantics among city-dwellers who hanker after an idealised rural paradise - unspoilt, slow, serene, predictable - the antithesis of the busy bustle of urban life. But there are hard-headed arguments why rural communities must be encouraged to survive yet change and develop. One is based on the fact of economic interdependence of rural and urban areas. Urban manufacturing industry and the service sector need the mass market in rural areas if they are to grow. Rural food and raw material producers need urban markets in order to generate the cash to buy urban goods and services. Other arguments focus on humanitarian and cultural principles. Louis Malassis puts this point as follows:

> "The problem of maintaining a balance between town and countryside is one which occurs in different forms all over the world. The town generates new ideas and material riches, but it can also be destructive of nature and social structures. In the countries of the Third World, it attracts the rural population who see it as escape from their problems. In these countries, every town has its 'poverty belt' of those who have uprooted themselves from their rural environment in the often forlorn hope of finding employment. When these people have maintained links with families still living on the land, the latter frequently help to support them. Such tragic situations could to some extent be avoided by the improvement of living conditions in areas where subsistence agriculture prevails and by the organisation of reception services for the rural population in urban areas." (6)

But perhaps the arguments with the strongest political power are those which invoke the principle of social justice. This principle demands that people in rural areas have the right to enjoy the fruits of national development efforts in which they play a vital role. They form the mass of the people. With a predicted annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent for the rural populations of the developing world, tensions born of gross inequalities between rural and urban areas could create unmanageable political upheaval.

Outsiders, planners in particular, are prone to label as a community any group of people who live in close proximity. It may be the case that people in a rural area share a sense of belonging - the essence of the concept of community - based on ties of kinship, ethnicity, language, faith, occupational relationships or social networks. But it may also happen that a rural community defined in terms of location is in fact composed of sub-groups with differing or even conflicting interests and values with little, if any, sense of belonging.

The Urban Community

As urbanisation continues apace, it may well be that educational planners will pay more attention to the linking of school and community in towns and cities (7). People in urban areas may find it more difficult than those in rural areas to share a sense of belonging to a community. People are often transient. Ties of kin, ethnic group, language and religion may weaken in a pluralistic milieu. Social contacts have to be contrived. Occupational networks may be the most meaningful community for those who have jobs. Social proximity in shanty towns may be important to those who are unemployed. People may identify with a number of different communities or none at all. The anonymity, differentiation and fragmentation of city life may mean that individuals are not subjected to the discipline of community customs and values as they may be in rural areas. But we really do not have much evidence on this. Research is needed to clarify the ways in which schools in urban areas relate to the communities they serve.

Participatory Development

Current approaches to community development, whether in rural or urban areas, emphasise the right of communities to participate in their own development.

> "It is only through a participatory process in which the base of the system is actively involved that a genuinely national 'model' of development can be generated." (8)

This statement was made in a report of a gathering of educational planners at Unesco's International Institute for Educational Planning in 1977. It is based on a widespread and commonsense belief (rather than, as yet, a fully established truth) that when people identify their own needs and development priorities, when they think through their own strategies for problem-solving, when they have a measure of control over their own destinies, then the development process is both more meaningful and more realisable (9). The work of Paulo Freire among the illiterate and oppressed peasants of Brazil, and more recently his work in Africa, is well-known for its emphasis on "conscientization" - a participatory approach to community development which aims to awaken the critical consciousness of the oppressed to their own condition (10). For Freire, education is the process of becoming aware of one's own reality so that one can act to change it. Current thinking on the linking of schools and community, as we shall see below, reflects a concern that the community which the school should serve, ought to participate in its management, and that the school - teachers and pupils - should participate in the life of the community.

Historical Roots of Education for Community Development

Although the idea of using education as a means of community development has a long history, stretching back, in ex-British colonies at least, to the early years of the last century, the participatory strategy is of fairly recent origin. A more or less paternalistic, top-down approach was characteristic of British, French and Belgian policies until well into the middle years of the twentieth century.

The historical roots of policies which place faith in education - and schools in particular - as tools of community development have been well researched and documented elsewhere. Here we merely summarise the main developments, concentrating on British colonial experience, in order to enable the reader to place contemporary experiments and innovation in context.

The earliest idea was to include agriculture and rural craft training in the curriculum of the school in order to give children practical skills which they could use in the local community. This idea was first promoted officially by Kaye-Shuttleworth in 1847 in the Education Committee of the Privy Council. Later, experiments on these lines were conducted in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and British India. After the First World War, British, French and Belgian authorities evolved, with somewhat differing philosophies, more comprehensive policies of community development. The British version is enshrined in the famous 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa:

> "... to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service." (11)

The schools were to continue to teach practical skills relevant to the local community, and also to act as a bridge for the pupil between the traditional community culture and a modern way of life. Literacy was seen as a critical skill. Local languages were encouraged in school and teaching methods were to harmonise with local traditions. Literacy for adults was seen as important as a key to open the door to their full participation in community development.

A.R. Thompson has summarised some of these experiments in "adapted" education (12). He makes the point that they varied widely in character because they were largely the work of imaginative and enthusiastic individuals. He continues:

> "In Tanganyika a wide range of experiments was initiated with the support of the Director, Rivers-Smith. Bishop Lucas attempted to transform initiation ceremonies into agencies for transmitting sound health practice in parts of the country; schools on 'tribal' lines were initiated at Buigiri for girls, and by Mumford at Bukoba and Malangali; the Agricultural Department attempted to utilise the traditional Kwaya schools of the Sukuma; and particularly under the Directorship of Isherwood there was a major attempt to promote the growth of local 'tribal' schools under the control of the Native Authorities. Possibly in no other dependency was such a wide-ranging and serious attempt made to adapt education. In the Gold Coast the development of Achimota as an all-age school combining theoretical studies with practical work in workshop and farm, and with cultural studies, was matched by Guggisberg's trade schools and other experiments to pioneer more relevant forms of education and training for the young. In Nigeria Clarke established his school at Omu which, like Mumford's Malangali, sought to relate buildings and organisation as well as curriculum to local community tradition. In Kenya, Nyasaland and Zambia and in a not dissimilar form in Nigeria, Jeanes schools were established to train supervisory teachers to disseminate the new concepts to the primary school and to local communities. In several countries schools for the sons of traditional leaders were established in the belief that more enlightened traditional leadership would promote modernisation whilst preserving the integrity of local society and culture. At Bakht er Ruda in the Sudan, Griffiths initiated a notable experiment in the ruralisation of teacher education. ...
>
> In India the Hartog Committee in the late twenties urged that:

> > '... the aim of every village school should include, not merely the attainment of literacy but the larger objective, namely, the raising of the standard of village life in all its aspects'.
>
> The advocacy by Gandhi of basic education received wide-spread recognition in the late 1930's, and his ideas that the child should not merely learn and practice rural crafts during his education but produce goods sufficient to maintain the existence of the school, and that the school should produce craftsmen capable of earning a living in the rural areas, had many echoes round the world. In Ceylon Patrick introduced rural education in post primary classes designed to encourage pupils to understand and make the most of life in their rural communities rather than join the drift in the towns." (12)

But, suggests Thompson, powerful socio-economic forces prevented these innovations from taking root:

> "Few of these experiments survived the departure of the enthusiasts who had originated them. The steady growth of modern sector employment after the effects of the economic depression of the early 1930's had been shaken off, encouraged education departments to return to more conventional patterns of schooling. The growing demand for manpower with secondary or indeed tertiary education required in Africa, as it already had decades previously in India, the creation of secondary and tertiary institutions offering internationally recognised qualifications, and these had the effect of biasing the curriculum of lower schools towards preparation for secondary and tertiary entrance. Moreover, it seemed that conventional schools not merely demanded less imagination, were cheaper to run and more successful in meeting employment needs - but were into the bargain more popular with their clienteles. Almost universally, local people viewed the ruralisation and practicalisation of schooling with disfavour. So powerful in often subtle ways was local opinion that many experimental schools were speedily swept away and others which survived longer found that their real function was far from that

> intended by their founders. Pupils and parents still saw in the school their sole highway to the better life offered by modern sector employment and steadfastly refused to believe that studies oriented towards the improvement of life in local communities did not in fact handicap their chances of proceeding along that highway. Economic progress in the late 1930's began the process completed by the Second World War in spreading a new kind of impatient political consciousness to the masses, of sweeping away the gradualistic concepts upon which the philosophy of educational adaptation had been founded." (13)

After the Second World War the major priority was to expand school systems in order to provide the high-level manpower needed to man newly-independent governments and fast-growing economies. Through the 1960's and 1970's, the major investments went into formal schooling on the Western model. At the same time adult literacy campaigns were conducted in isolation from the education of children. The mass literacy programmes of the 1950's had failed to achieve their targets and were discontinued in the early 1960's in favour of functional and work-related literacy projects for adults and out-of-school youth. Disquiet with these strategies grew in recent years. One concern was the phenomenon of unemployment among school-leavers and their inability or unwillingness to find productive work in the traditional sector of the economy. Another was the alienation from their cultural roots of young people who had passed through the Western school system. A third was the growing disparity in educational opportunity between rich and poor, urban and rural communities. As we have seen (p. 2), the response to these problems, for a time, was to develop non-formal educational institutions alongside the schools. This strategy has not proved fully effective. Now the emphasis has returned once again to the school. Current experiments are concerned with how the school itself can be changed in ways which make it a more effective tool of community development than, historically, it has proved to be (14).

The next chapter explores concepts of the community school and describes some contemporary experiments and innovations linking school and community.

NOTES

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2. Du Bey, D.L. et al. *An Introduction to the Sociology of Nigerian Education*. London: Macmillan, 1979, p. 23.

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14. There is, of course, a contemporary debate as to whether the school should or should not try to be *relevant* to the community. The argument which suggests that it should *not*, suggests that, given fast-changing economic and social opportunities, school learning is soon out of date if tied to current conditions. Better, therefore, for schools to concentrate on developing intellectual skills through traditional and well-tried disciplines (e.g., Latin) irrespective of their immediate relevance.

CHAPTER 2

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

We have seen how, historically, schools contributed to the disintegration of traditional communities. Attempts to use those same schools as instruments of community development were, therefore, not surprisingly, of limited success. In this chapter we shall see that contemporary enthusiasm for the idea of community schools has not been much tempered by the sobering lessons of history.

In what follows, the term "community school" is used - but with sensitivity to the fact that in the neighbourhood of any school there may be a number of communities of greater or lesser diversity. It is likely that the greater the number of communities in the neighbourhood of the school, the more difficult it is to establish and maintain a community school which reflects the interests and values of all communities.

School-Community Isolation

For purposes of conceptual clarification, school-community linkages may be visualised along a continuum from weak to strong. At the weak end are schools which have minimal links with the communities in which they are situated. Their communities are not defined in terms of the geographical neighbourhood of the school.

Examples of such schools are those set up to train special cadres of personnel: a religious order, a military cadre, highly gifted musicians. The residential secondary science schools in Malaysia are of this type, acting as a forcing ground for scientifically-able pupils mainly from rural areas where there are few schools with adequate facilities for advanced science education. These types of school place great emphasis on *creating* a particular community based on shared values, knowledge and skills. They are often residential and self-contained, deliberately insulated from local influence.

Another type of community school which may resist local influences is set up by particular ideological, religious or ethnic groups in order to perpetuate a minority culture. These schools are often in opposition to the established order and rarely given encouragement by governments (1). By their nature such "movement" schools tend to operate on a small scale and to wither away or be assimilated into the national system once their *raison d'être* dies.

But such examples of deliberate school-community isolation are rare. Most governments espouse at least some involvement of schools with the community, especially at primary level. But experience indicates that such links are much more difficult to establish at higher levels of the educational system. Experiments involving university students in community work indicate that it is difficult to reconcile this with high academic standards and a good supply of highly educated manpower, as recent experience in China and Tanzania shows. At secondary school level, also, community-oriented philosophies are difficult to put into practice. For one thing, secondary schools are often located in regional centres away from the home communities of their pupils. For another, the curricula and examinations they follow reflect national rather than local concerns.

School-Community Integration

At the strong end of the continuum of school-community linkages are cases where there is little distinction between school and community. Management of the school is integrated with management of other community services, personnel and facilities of schools and community are shared, and the educational functions of the school are integrated with those of other agencies and institutions in the community. In practice, there are few examples of this model. Those that exist do so because of a strong political commitment to community development at national level as in China, Cuba and Tanzania. The following passage spells out the Tanzanian concept of integration of school and community:

> "The Merging Concepts - The Community School and Basic Services
>
> The 1967 Arusha Declaration calls for the establishment of a socialist democracy in which the major means of production are under the control of peasants

and workers; the exploitation of man by man is progressively eradicated. This socialist democracy is built on the foundations of three principles of the traditional African family: respect for the individual, sharing of all the basic necessities of life, and the obligation to work. To these principles President Nyerere adds knowledge and the instruments necessary for defeat of the poverty which exists in traditional African society.

In implementing the policy of socialism and self-reliance, education is charged with the responsibility of reinforcing the process of transformation: particularly that of the socio-economic structure of the nation. In the period following 1967 the Ministry of National Education set about creating curricula relevant to the rural sector where more than 90 per cent of the population live; transforming teacher, student and parent expectations so as to eradicate the assumption that education is the sole means to wage-employment; combining manual work with academic subjects; fostering co-operative modes of production by beginning with the school and its situation in the village; and developing self-confidence and creativity in problem-solving.

Basic Education and the Community School

The concept of 'a people's school' became a reality in 1969 with the passing into law of the Education Act of that year. Significant structural changes began to take shape. The Act provided for the development of a system of education which conforms to the political, social and cultural ideals of Tanzanians. The administration of all primary schools, including those formerly managed by church authorities, is carried out by local authorities within the context of the community school. The community school is expected to achieve permanent and functional literacy in Kiswahili and to provide a basic education that will have an impact on the quality of life of people living in rural areas.

In 1972 basic education and the community school were further strengthened by the introduction of the policy of decentralisation. The Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975 directed that each village is responsible for making those decisions necessary for its development. This has led in turn to village councils setting up an education, culture and social welfare committee which is responsible for all educational activities affecting children and adults in the village.

The Community School in Tanzania concentrates on those problems that affect the quality of life of villagers and is concerned with village-level development issues. However, where appropriate, situations outside the community are studied, especially where the elements might be of use to the community.

There are several objectives of the Community School Programme: to develop ways and means of further integrating school activities with those of the community by making features of daily life the focal points of the school curriculum and thus effectively linking education to life; to integrate within the school curriculum unco-ordinated 'subject areas' and introduce flexibility and reality through the 'topic' or 'module' approach; to develop a genuine community school which contributes not only to the provision of lifelong education but also co-ordinates various forces of development.

Firstly, ways of integrating school and village activities were identified: the school and the village combined means of production and consequent targets - one farm, one poultry unit, one workshop, etc.; the community became involved in the work of the school through committees; parents contributed to the education of the pupils through, e.g., teaching local history, crafts, politics, education, etc., pupils participated in village campaigns, e.g., 'Food is Life', 'Man is Health', etc., and in celebrations, national festivals and exhibitions.

Secondly, the integration of the school curriculum was undertaken. Four main areas, constituting a minimum package for basic education, were identified: Literacy and numeracy (comprising Kiswahili, English and Mathematics); cultural studies (physical education, music, craft, art and handicraft); political education and environmental studies (science, geography, domestic science, history and agriculture).

Literacy and numeracy are regarded as essential communication tools and contributory to progress in other curriculum areas. No changes in syllabus have been effected, but instructional materials and teaching techniques have been improved. Teachers of Standard I and II pupils have attended special Orientation Courses in Kiswahili, English and Mathematics.

Cultural studies: it was found that games, songs and local dances could easily be integrated whilst preserving local customs and traditions for posterity.

More emphasis has been placed on the child's relationship with and obligations to this family, village society, giving more weight to the practical aspects of Political Education. In addition, such things as the structure and function of Chama cha Mapindusi, principies and practice of Ujamaa Philosophy, the working of the Government from the grass-roots to the national level are covered together with other topics concerning Tanzanian Socialism.

Various concepts and principles of science are presented in Environmental Studies so as to express the fundamental unity of scientific thought: emphasis is also given to a scientific study of the environmental and the technological requirements of everyday life.

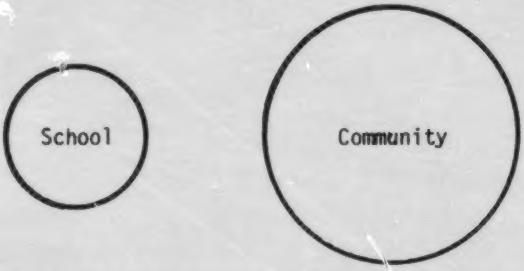
The aim of the curriculum outlined above was to develop in pupils those knowledges, skills and attitudes, as well as values relevant to the community ...

The third objective relates to the co-ordination of various forces of development with the ideal community directing its own social and economic development whilst furthering the education of the community. The latter is essential to developing the means of identifying socio-economic problems as well as helping to reach higher economic output goals." (2)

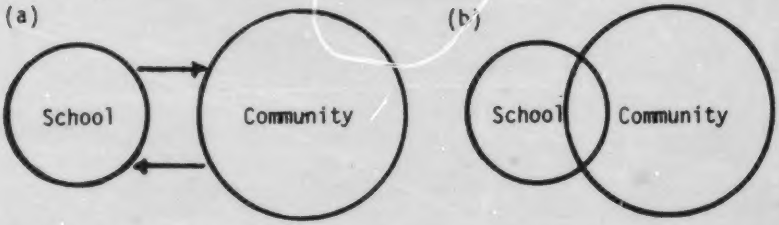
School-Community Co-operation

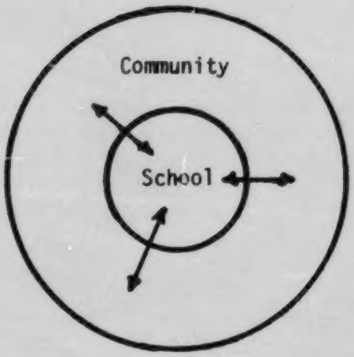
In the Tanzanian case, the integration between school and community is intended to be very strong. Mid-way on the continuum from very weak to very strong links are those that aim at school-community co-operation in certain specific ways. These usually involve benefits to both school and community while maintaining the boundaries of both. Co-operative relationships, rather than total isolation or integration are the most common form of school-community links.

Weak Links between School and Community



Co-operative Links between School and Community





Scale of School-Community Projects

In the Tanzanian case, the community-school idea was started on a pilot basis and later extended to cover the whole country. From the beginning it was inspired and directed at national level as part of a national policy. This involved a revolutionary social and educational philosophy and a radical re-structuring of the socio-economic and educational systems.

Perhaps only the Chinese and Cuban experiments equal the Tanzanian in their national scale and revolutionary impact (3). Most innovations are on a more modest scale, intended to operate alongside the traditional school system within the existing socio-economic framework. Some of these innovations are substantial but intended to affect only certain groups within society, not to work towards total transformation. Martin, in a recent survey of community schools, differentiates "substantial" innovations of this type - the production schools in Panama, the nuclear schools of Peru, the community school project in Thailand and the comprehensive and barrio high schools in the Philippines - from both radical/national projects of the Tanzanian type and small-scale projects which make only "gestures" towards community-centred learning (4). He suggests that community-oriented projects are more viable if they are backed by a nationally-inspired community-oriented ideology than if they work against the *status quo*. However, even nationally-inspired projects are rarely implemented fully. They tend to fall short of their original goals or to be restricted showpieces.

We should, however, distinguish small-scale projects set up in earnest from what Watson has recently called the "rhetorical" community school (5). He points out that many schools are labelled "community" schools because this identifies them with a fashionable ideology. In practice, he suggests, few of these schools show any significant change in philosophy, purposes or community participation. The rhetoric promises far more than the reality reveals.

The Community School

Another conception of community schooling which is compatible with any of the above varieties of school-community linkages is that of the school as a community in itself (6). The community of pupils, teachers and other personnel live as a community where desirable social, political and personal attitudes and skills can be cultivated. Pupils learn how to participate in the life of the wider community by participating in the life of the school. Pupils may participate in decision-making in a school council and by election of school representatives. They may participate in self-reliance activities. They may learn to administer and manage school facilities and resources. They may make decisions on the curricula and social issues. The authority structure, the tone and values of the school reflect the life of the wider community, often in idealized form. The self-reliance activities of Tanzanian primary schools, for instance, reflect the Ujamaa philosophy of village development.

Contemporary Innovations

The essence of the idea of the community school is that the school should be involved with and in the community. In practice, the notion is worked out in many different ways. Sometimes the school contributes to the welfare of the community, sometimes the community benefits the school. Most school-community links offer some mutual benefit.

Shared Buildings and Facilities

One obvious way in which the school may help the community is through the shared use of school buildings and facilities. Sometimes the school buildings, grounds and facilities may be lavish compared with other local buildings. But even modest ones may provide a welcome meeting place or community centre. Playing fields can be used for local festivals, sports, dramatic events, political rallies or even for grazing animals. School gardens may provide the community with additional produce at low cost when arable land is scarce.

Sharing of amenities may range from comprehensive, long term, intensive multiple use based on national guidelines to the occasional *ad hoc* arrangement between an individual school and community. The shared use of facilities appears an attractive device for saving on costs by avoiding duplication of expensive buildings and amenities in a locality. But potential financial savings need to be weighed carefully against the costs in terms of the time and staff needed for co-ordination and administration. The evidence suggests that sharing is not as simple as it seems. Clarke suggests, in summing up the "sorry experience" of the managers of a lavish, multi-purpose *Bildungszentrum* in West Berlin built in the early 1970's:

> "... Certainly if multi-purpose (let alone multi-functional) institutions are to succeed, they must be soundly based on an understanding of the principles involved by staff concerned in all aspects of the work of the building, and careful attention must be paid to staff training. Much care must be given to the question of management - or co-operation between managements. Building design is of some importance, but in itself it cannot overcome the limitations of individuals. It is sad to note the financial cost of learning these simple considerations." (7)

Martin indicates from his survey that the use of school buildings and equipment for community purposes *is* a simple and effective way of drawing the school closer to the local community if there is already a tradition of co-operation. In the Philippines, he suggests, the comprehensive secondary schools in urban areas find sharing is relatively easy. He describes the Magsaysay High School in Manila and the Morong High School in Rizal where there is good and economical management of time and space for community use:

> "The schools ran secondary school classes for two shifts of students, literacy classes for adults, accreditation courses for young people who had had their education interrupted ... and a large number and variety of adult vocational training courses. Without careful time-tabling, the running of so many courses in one institution would hardly have been possible. During the morning and afternoon sessions, the space was used by secondary school students, literacy and accreditation classes for adults and young people, and in the evening, most of the space was taken up with vocational classes for adults and youth. Maximum use was made of secondary school specialist teachers." (8)

These urban schools were rich in resources. Therefore it was possible to time-table a variety of activities so that all facilities and personnel were employed fully and not overstretched.

But, Martin notes, the school may not always be "the centre of gravity" for the community. It may not naturally turn to the school as an important resource. In small schools, particularly in rural areas, such economical and extensive sharing may not be so easy. The school may be situated in an inconvenient area for community access. Scarce school furniture may not be adaptable to adult use. The timing of community events in the school may conflict with school needs. People may not be available to unlock valuable school facilities or equipment when the community wants to use them.

Schools for Community Education and Development

Besides the shared use of buildings and facilities, schools may help to meet the educational needs of the community. Since the 1950's schools have been seen as one agency among many for providing literacy and basic education for the community within a lifelong perspective. The Peruvian Nuclear School System established in 1972 is an example. In that year education in Peru was decentralised. In each of the educational districts a school was identified as the educational nucleus. From this central school, representatives from the schools of the district and of the community met to develop an integrated and comprehensive education service for the district and to advise the regional authorities on the co-ordination of education with other rural services. Peruvian schools cater for the whole range of youth and adult learning needs. They provide basic education for children between the ages of six and fifteen combining conventional subjects with locally relevant vocational subjects in the higher grades. Alongside this, they offer a vocational curriculum in vocational and technical subjects in addition to conventional school subjects for out-of-school youth and adults. Adults can attend literacy classes. Problems abound in the implementation of this ambitious scheme of comprehensive community education. Nevertheless one recent report suggests that repeater and drop-out rates from the schools have gone down and school-community bonds have strengthened (9).

The CHILD-to-child Programme, initiated during the International Year of the Child 1979, was set up to work towards better health for poorer communities in remote rural areas, inner cities and shanty towns in developing countries.

> "It teaches and encourages children of school age to concern themselves with the health and general development of their younger brothers and sisters and of other young children in their community. Simple preventive and curative activities as well as games, play and role playing with these same objectives in view are taught to the children in school and through other channels such as youth groups, so that they may pass ideas on in the family or community environment.
>
> The tradition of the older, but still not very old, child being responsible for his or her younger siblings is well-established in all of the lesser developed countries. ...
>
> Although there are no hard and fast rules for the activities to be undertaken and indeed encouragement is given to the setting up of *local* projects to suit *local* conditions and needs, a number of activity sheets ... are published. ... These include, for example, 'How do we know if our Children get enough Food?' ... 'Children with Diarrhoea', ... 'Our Teeth', ... 'Health Scouts', ... 'Our Neighbourhood', ... 'Making it better', ... 'Accidents', ... 'Toys and Games', ... with Younger Children'." (10)

An example of an activity sheet is reproduced on pp. 46-48.

The CHILD-to-child Programme is used by teachers and pupils in school and by other workers and out-of-school youth. The concept of Health Scouts has been enthusiastically adopted in Kenya in the Mathare Valley Slums but about twenty other countries in Asia, Africa, the Pacific, the Caribbean and Latin America have programmes. The CHILD-to-child Programme is a good example of direct ways in which schools can contribute to the education and welfare of the community.

Community Participation and Management

Another contemporary approach to linking school and community is to involve parents and other community members in supporting the educational purposes and management of the school. Part of the rationale for this is to ensure greater accountability to the community on the part of the school. But there are other cogent educational reasons for encouraging community participation. Parents, guardians and other adults have an important role to play in encouraging the enrolment and attendance of children in school, in co-operating with teachers over children's homework, learning difficulties, social or health problems. Much of the success of attempts to involve the community in the educational business of the school depends, of course, on how important the community regards schooling to the future prospects of their children, whether they can afford the cost of their children attending school, and how far the teachers encourage them to break through the traditional isolation of school from community. Unless advised, parents and other adults may feel, quite wrongly, that they have no worthwhile contribution to make to the education and welfare of their children.

One small-scale but innovative project in Malaysia aims to involve parents, who live on rubber estates and paddy farms in less developed rural areas, in the education of their children. The overall aim is to prepare very young children for going to school so that they will be able to cope well with the challenges of school life. This scheme, run jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education, encourages parents, particularly the mothers, of pre-school children to co-operate with teachers in pre-school centres. Despite their initial lack of knowledge and confidence, parents' interest has been stimulated. In a relaxed social environment they learn to make simple instructional materials which they take home to use with their children. They work alongside the teachers as they talk and play with the children. They themselves may become literate and numerate - or at least learn to appreciate the importance for their children of being so.

In Papua New Guinea the thrust has been towards involving parents and community members not so much in the educational purposes of the school but in school management. As in many countries, school management was traditionally a matter for administrative and professional personnel. New legislation created the framework for community participation but, a recent survey indicates, changes in the law alone are not enough to ensure participation:

> "The schools had not in most cases taken ... measures ... to ensure representation of parents on their boards ... there was a lower level of parental representation than was envisaged in the Education Act. ... Most parents ... would be non-literate, live some distance from the school, be difficult to contact and lack transport." (12)

Apart from the obvious physical and cultural difficulties, headteachers and officials had not given parents positive encouragement to become involved. This may be crucial in contexts where teachers are jealous of their professional autonomy, where officials do not sympathise with lay involvement and where the community lacks confidence in itself, failing, perhaps, even to see how it can make a contribution. Contrast such situations with that in the MTUU community school project in Tanzania, where the political and social pressures are all conducive to community participation and where the structure of village government makes it feasible. In a survey of community schooling in 1978, 86 per cent of parents felt that the party, the village "chairman", parents and pupils should all have a say in the running of the school (13).

The evidence suggests that one of the reasons why community participation in school affairs is not easy to stimulate is that schools are sometimes seen as making unwarranted demands on the resources of the community. Parent-teacher associations, good though the best of them are, are sometimes viewed with suspicion as devices for extracting cash or physical labour from the community or its children for doing what, in the eyes of local people, the government is failing to do. This may be particularly true in very poor communities or in places where the school is seen as an unwelcome, alien institution. In fact, there are any number of examples of community help for schools - building schools, providing teachers' accomodation, supplying materials, making furniture and equipment, donating cash. The most generous and enthusiastic contributions seem to occur when the local community sees the school as contributing to its own welfare and that of its children, and when substantial inputs are also promised from central funds. Then local community efforts are sustained and encouraged by a sense of purpose and by partnership with central authorities.

It could be argued that the sharing of school buildings and facilities with the community is primarily of benefit to the community. Community participation in the educational business and management of the school, on the other hand, directly benefits the school. It may also, indirectly, feed back into the community, providing a forum where community members can develop their talents as educators or in managing their own affairs. Community pride and sense of achievement focussed around the school may be enhanced. Similarly when communities allow themselves to be used as an educational resource by the school, they are directly contributing to the educational purposes of the schools but also creating a "learning" community for themselves. The principles of lifelong education are being realised in practice.

The Community as a Curriculum Resource for the School

Schools have always used the local community for visits and trips to places of interest and have invited local dignitaries as guests into the school. But these events are frequently seen by teachers and pupils alike as extra-ordinary, end-of-term jaunts, and not part of the serious business of the school.

One seminal project which aims to involve the community and clusters of schools more systematically in the enhancement of the curriculum of the school is the Small Rural Schools programme in Wales 1981-1982. These schools suffer because of the professional isolation of their teachers and their lack of specialist skills in such areas as crafts, drama, music and physical education. Schools are encouraged by the Local Education

Authorities to ask for support from their neighbours and the wider community. Resources are not only physical, the sharing of a pottery kiln for instance, but human, "local personalities who have something to offer". In commenting on progress so far Mathews suggests:

> "Schools vary in their openness to the use of local people or the skills of colleagues in other schools. Some have always done so and are not aware that it is anything special ..." (14)

> "Exchanges and sharing between primary schools occurs to a limited extent. It occurs in *ad hoc* ways and is often based on the friendship of the teachers concerned. ... " (15)

The Small Rural Schools programme has fairly modest aims for sharing of local resources between schools and communities. For full-scale community involvement in the curriculum of the schools, the community must work continuously with the schools at four levels:

a) discussion on the aims and purposes of the curriculum and identification of areas of priority as far as the culture, needs and concerns of the community go;

b) joint identification of areas of the curriculum where community knowledge, skills and resources can contribute to children's learning;

c) assumption of responsibility by the community for making these inputs available to the schools as needed; and

d) continuous monitoring of the partnership to improve future co-operation.

All this assumes that

- some structures exist whereby school-community co-operation can be institutionalised without stifling spontaneity and enthusiasm;
- structures do not change frequently or radically;
- both the teachers, as professionals, and the community members fully accept the role that the latter can play in curriculum development (16).

Few detailed studies are available on the process and outcomes of close co-operation by teachers and communities on curriculum matters (17). This lack of co-operation may reflect the difficulties of putting such worthwhile schemes into operation. Much of what does go on is probably informally done with quiet perseverance and without fanfare.

One exceptionally thorough attempt to establish a community-based curriculum was run by the Institute for the Reform of Primary Education, Buea, Cameroon. The Institute conducted community surveys to find out the particular socio-economic and cultural features of local communities and to collect stories and folk-lore. Within national curriculum guidelines it then wrote detailed community-based curriculum material for use by teachers and pupils. Much of this material involved community co-operation. In the environmental studies syllabus, a community questionnaire was devised for teachers to use in a situational analysis of the community surrounding their schools. This covered village communications, services and facilities, physical and social structure of the community, traditions and customs, organisations and groups, trades, industries, crafts and markets, health, nutrition, population movements, community projects and land tenure. The questionnaire is very detailed, as the following extract on *Traditions and Customs* indicates:

How do people treat a "big man"?

respect ☐
honour ☐
obedience ☐
free labour ☐
....

advice ☐
gifts ☐
larger shares ☐
....
....

What do "big men" expect from the people living in the village or town quarter?

to participate in communal work ..... ☐
to work hard at their jobs .... ☐
to pay tax .... ☐
to be law abiding .... ☐
to send children to school .... ☐
respect .... ☐

9

obedience .... ☐

....

....

What traditions and customs do children not know?

respect for 'secret societies' and mask dancers ... ☐

traditional occupations (e.g. tapping palm wine, cutting of nuts) .... ☐

marriage arrangements .... ☐

food taboos .... ☐

behaviour during traditional celebrations (funerals, sacrifices, etc.) .... ☐

medical plants for native medicine .... ☐

obedience, respect to rank and elders .... ☐

native meetings and dances .... ☐

idioms and proverbs .... ☐

drummed messages and eye-signals .... ☐

others ....

....

....(18)

The chart on the opposite page is an example of guidelines for teachers on *Finding Out Food Taboos in the Community.* The teacher is encouraged to use a traditional story to introduce the topic. Practical activity involves community elders, heads and chiefs in giving information to pupils who go out of the school to visit them. The whole unit involves an active, small-group approach to learning which has to be carefully organised by the teacher in co-operation with the community elders concerned. The challenge facing the Cameroonian curriculum specialists now, is to stimulate and motivate the teachers to use the community-based material and ideas developed on their behalf.

AIM OF STUDY

FINDING OUT FOOD TABOOS IN THE COMMUNITY (19)

PREPARATION

- DRAW UP OUTLINE OF WORK SCHEDULE (Lesson Notes)
- COLLECT SUITABLE REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR DISPLAY (if needed)
- CHECK INFORMATION WITH THE HELP OF COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE
- ORGANISE FIELD WORK (inform community members)

INTRODUCTION OF STUDY

- INTRODUCTORY TALK AND DISCUSSION
  Story of Arrey-Ndip from Banyang Area
- COMPREHENSION QUESTION
  Leading children to understand the meaning of "food taboo"
- DIVISION INTO GROUPS AND ALLOCATION OF GROUP ASSIGNMENTS
  Pupils organised according to cultural groups with one leader

FIELD WORK PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C	GROUP D
Bakweri	Bali	Bassa	Ibo

Visit elders/quarter heads/chiefs of the cultural groups to collect information on food taboos, ask the women as well

CLASSROOM FOLLOW-UP

- REPORTS ON FINDINGS
  Group leaders report orally and present written reports
- SUMMARISING THE FACTS
  Blackboard chart
- COMPARISONS
  Comparing similarities and differences amongst cultural groups through pupils' findings
- CONCLUSION OF Study
  What are meaningful taboos?

Work-Oriented Schooling

Finally, in this survey of innovatory approaches to linking school and community, we turn to examples of schools which attempt to introduce their pupils to the world of work through the curriculum of the school. We have seen that earlier attempts to introduce practical subjects relevant to the work and life of the local community largely failed. But such failures have not deterred policy-makers all over the world from trying again. Many recent innovations are well known: the Cuban Schools-to-the-Countryside movement, the Production Schools of the Panama, the Gandhian "work and learn" schools are examples (20). Four recent innovations are described here because they illustrate a variety of creative responses to community needs.

1. *Madhya Pradesh: Earn and Learn*

In Madhya Pradesh, India, a contemporary scheme to promote community development focusses on the poorest families. The aim is to attract children to go to school who normally cannot afford to do so. The Department of Education took a loan from a voluntary organisation and identified three items which it needs in vast quantities - sealing wax, chalk and mats. These were prepared at 217 day centres by boys and girls. The products have earned 15 per cent profit on the capital advanced and sell at a competitive price.

> "The children have started coming to school because, for the first time, they have realised that now they do not have to work elsewhere to supplement their families' meagre income." (21)

2. *Pre-Vocational Studies in Sri Lanka, 1972-1977*

The Sri Lankan experiment in pre-vocational studies for the junior secondary schools was similar to the Indian one in that it aimed to encourage pupils to produce saleable products. But it was not limited to this alone. The stimulus for this ambitious innovation was the social unrest of the early 1970's and the related desire of the authorities to improve the productive skills and earning capacity of youth in rural areas. A major objective of the programme was to improve attitudes towards employment through community-based work activities. Over eighty locally relevant pre-vocational subjects were made a *compulsory* and *examinable* part of the curriculum. The programme met with mixed reactions (22). Many parents, teachers and pupils were enthusiastic, for they realised that the competition for highly paid jobs in the modern sector was so great that many pupils would not find jobs. Students were motivated by the income they earned from the sale of their products. But there was also some opposition. There was apprehension that locally relevant "subjects" in rural areas, like batik work or fishing, would block off rural pupils from more attractive work to which urban pupils had more access through studies in commerce and urban-based craft subjects. There were problems of implementation, many of them due to inadequate training and support for teachers and poor curriculum design. However, the experiment had many useful features, not the least that it was intended to cover *all* junior secondary schools, thus avoiding the frequent charge that academic curricula are reserved for the elite schools while vocational subjects are for the schools of the masses.

3. *Secondary Schools' Community Extension Project in Papua New Guinea*

A small-scale experimental project in Papua New Guinea, which similarly combines general education with a curriculum geared towards community development through a work-oriented approach, is the Secondary Schools' Community Extension Project (SSCEP) in Papua New Guinea. The Papua New Guinean authorities conceived of the project as a possible response to the problem of unemployment among school leavers and the irrelevance of academic high school education to community life in Papua New Guinea.

> "The emphasis (is) on providing students (up to grade 10) with those practical skills necessary to allow them to contribute to rural development through self-employment in their home or other villages." (23)

One important aspect of the scheme in the five project schools is that school-based teachers under the guidance of a deputy-head SSCEP co-ordinator are responsible for developing practical subjects suitable for the school. So the teachers are responsible for the implementation of the scheme in their own schools. Another interesting feature is that the teachers design the practical subjects in such a way that core knowledge and skills in the conventional academic curriculum are also introduced and built up in the practical subjects. Thus, parents and pupils are satisfied that the conventional school subjects are not being neglected. A further innovation is the high school out-stations. These are located in villages or deserted plantations. Away from the school, pupils continue their academic studies and develop practical projects relevant to the local community. At one out-station the projects are chosen in consultation with parents during visits by teachers to the villages from which the pupils come. These visits occur during vacations and often mean many days of walking for the teachers. All the pupils undertake a compulsory experimental agricultural project and choose one from a selection of livestock projects (cattle, pigs, poultry) or plantation projects (coconuts, cocoa or coffee).

4. *Community Training Centres in Tuvalu*

The Community Training Centres in Tuvalu, in the South-West Pacific, differ from the Sri Lankan and Papua New Guinean work- and community-oriented schemes in that they cater not for school-going youth but for young people who are unable to continue in secondary school because of shortages of places. The scheme owes much to local community participation and is intended to contribute to community welfare, as the following description by the Community Training Centre Adviser shows.

> "The secondary objectives are:
>
> a) to provide basic skills training which will increase the employability of the few who will gain paid employment;
>
> b) to provide training in English and Mathematics to enable some to qualify for entry to the Marine Training School; and
>
> c) to provide facilities which can be used in adult Community Training programmes.
>
> The basic principle which guides the choice of curriculum content is that whatever is taught must be of use to the pupil in the future, living in a rural semi-subsistence environment.
>
> The subjects taught at CTC include: Woodwork,

Metalwork, Home Economics, Cooking, Sewing, Agriculture, Environmental Studies, Drawing, Local Craft, Mathematics, English and Local History and Customs. All pupils take all subjects during the three-year course.

The buildings are part concrete and part local materials and comprise two classrooms, one being for Home Economics, Cooking, Sewing and Girls Craft and the other being for Woodwork, Metalwork and Boys Craft. Each centre has its own garden and chicken project.

There will be eight centres when the project is complete: one on each island except Niulakita, which will only ever have a population of 70 to 80 people.

The buildings, furniture and fitments are being built by a paid foreman and voluntary labour on each island.

The total cost of all the buildings, tools, equipment and furniture is about $ 100,000 donated by the New Zealand Government, and my salary and expenses and local teacher training is financed by the International Labour Organisation.

Progress as at 20 October, 1981

The Vaitupu Centre was opened in November, 1979. The Nanumea Centre was opened in July, 1981. The Nui and Nukufetau will be opened during the next 3 weeks. Nukulaelae has one building complete and being used and the second building should be ready in about 2 months. Nanumanga and Niutae are starting construction this month and should be complete and ready for opening by February, 1982. Funafuti, the last one, will be started in November/December and should be complete by May/June, 1982.

The Community Training Centres that are completed and running are working very well and are already having a big impact on their communities. This is particularly evident with the Agriculture programme resulting in Vaitupu now having 35 home gardens in the village, and Nanumea having 27 where there was none before the CTC's started. Quite a number of people are going into egg production now instead of letting their chickens run loose. Furniture is also being built using local materials, and the Home Economics, Cooking, Sewing Course is also very successful. It should be noted that local materials are used wherever possible, even to the extent that each CTC is supplied with its own chain-saw and mill attachment to mill their own timber both to build the centre and also to use in craftwork, etc.

The pupils at the CTC's and the communities are very enthusiastic about their Community Training Centres and the project shows every sign of being very successful.

Staffing

All CTC staff are local, most being trained primary school teachers and the rest being people who have had some sort of trade experience either here or overseas. Six CTC teachers have been to Suva for "Conversion Courses" in Home Economics and Industrial Arts. All CTC teachers have already completed or will complete in the very near future, two CTC Teacher Training Courses, each run in Tuvalu. There is a total of 18 full-time CTC teachers and five part-time CTC/part-time primary teachers.

The Future

It is intended, in the near future, to expand into adult education, both by allowing adults to join the day classes with the children and also adding a night class type organisation.

It is intended to join the present buildings together and make this into a cooking room/timber store/teachers office complex." (24)

Linking School and Community: The Prospects

In a detailed study of community-oriented primary schools in rural Cameroon, Bude (25) concludes that, in general,

> "... reform attempts to place the primary school at the service of rural development have lagged far behind the lofty expectations which they provoked. Only in individual cases has co-operation between community and school had the desired success. As a rule, efforts undertaken to concentrate school activities on community requirements have met with only a little interest on the part of the elite and the majority of parents. (Instead) ... Third World countries have tended to intensify the demand for an academic type of education ..."

In the Cameroon, however, he suggests:

> "... elements of community orientation have become firmly established in the primary schools of the anglophone provinces ... and are being supported by the provincial school authorities."

Bude summarises the scope and limitations of school-community links in the Cameroon as follows:

> "1. Parents-teachers associations offer a number of interested community members a limited forum for the expression of opinions on problems of school maintenance and instruction. The parents bear the major part of the cost of acquisitions and repair work. However, they are not allowed to control the school's local financial transactions.
>
> 2. Community members are only seldom invited to instruct the children. Representatives of government or private development institutions are, as a rule, not active at community level. Even in communities where such institutions have their headquarters, contacts between qualified employees and the local primary schools are only isolated.
>
> 3. Self-help projects in the sample area have a long tradition and are initiated and implemented primarily without the assistance of the school. In

exceptional cases the school may render manual assistance (e.g., in the transportation of building materials or production of air-dried building blocks). In contrast, a number of teachers still frequently serve as secretaries to committees or associations which are concerned with the organization of large-scale self-help projects. The level of development reached by a community itself co-determines the community's requirements and possibilities in terms of improving local living conditions. The better an area is developed, the more technically sophisticated and financially expensive are its development projects (e.g., water supply facilities), and these cannot be implemented without external assistance. From this it follows that the primary school becomes increasingly restricted in its possibilities of promoting community development.

4. The schools assist the communities free of charge by implementing projects which do not require a large volume of technical or financial investment. These goodwill actions relate primarily to the cleaning of public facilities, to hygiene demonstrations, and the organization of leisure-time activities. In ten per cent of the schools in the sample area, the teachers stated that they were holding literacy courses for adults. Yet despite the importance of such school activities to rural development, the only communities which reported such activities were those which were adequately or well equipped in infrastructural terms; no such activities were reported in the very disadvantaged communities. Although development projects of the type mentioned above are an integral part of the curriculum, the practical work is in no way brought into relation with the academic subjects of the curriculum.

5. In addition to the work performed free of charge by the school for the community, services are rendered for individual community members or institutions by pupils and teachers against payment. In this way the schools acquire funds which may be used for maintenance purposes or for special events. A school's opportunities

to undertake this type of work depends on the type of community and the development zone in which the latter is located. As a rule, the work undertaken includes the transportation of agricultural products in remote, isolated communities, harvesting work in well-equipped rural communities, and auxiliary services for building projects in urban areas. Here again, these non-school activities are not integrated as a point of departure for instruction in academic subjects. Furthermore, such profitable activities have often been extended to such a degree that regular teaching was ultimately impaired.

6. Use of school facilities by the community for non-school purposes is very restricted. The existence of classrooms and a sports ground cannot compensate for the lack of facilities which might be of interest to youths and adults. In one quarter of the schools, the classrooms are used for ecclesiastical purposes (services, choir rehearsals, religious instruction). The use of classrooms for non-religious assemblies is even more seldom, since other meeting points, frequently of a traditional nature, are available for these purposes. Teachers use the classrooms during non-school hours primarily for school-oriented purposes such as the provision of additional instruction to examination candidates and, in exceptional cases, for literacy courses or French language courses for adults.

7. Rural science instruction is an integral part of the primary school curriculum, and practical work is performed on the school's own farm. However, rural science is of little relevance to the final school-leaving examination and of no relevance to the secondary school entrance examination.

   Rural science instruction in its present form does not contribute much towards community development. Frequently, the school farms simply reflect local conditions and fail to offer an impetus for improvement or innovation in the communities. While schools in remote areas adapt themselves to the local low level of soil cultivation, schools in well-equipped rural communities

> are adapted to the yield-increasing methods which are customary in these areas. No use is made of the possibility of demonstrating agricultural innovations or of providing extension services to interested farmers, and the lack of external influence is not compensated by internal efficiency. No link is established *via* either content or methodology between theoretical instruction and practical work on the field.
>
> 8. Elements of local culture are incorporated into a variety of school activities. Apart from very few exceptions, these activities are not included into the life of the community. They are frequently undertaken incidental to or in isolation from cultural events at community level.
>
> Instruction in local culture at school is not used to promote a critical discussion on the traditional modes of behaviour and forms of expression of a variety of cultural groups but to facilitate the initiation of the pupil into the school. Once the first years at school are over, this cultural element is manifest only in the practising of traditional dances and songs and, often for lack of other reasonable sports activities, in sports instruction.
>
> In the anglophone provinces of Cameroon, most of the school activities which were originally intended to contribute towards improving local conditions have since developed into mere routine tasks which bear no relevance to their environment. Although still considered by all concerned to be the task of the school, these activities have lost their function. The type and scope of the school's community orientation is determined by the teachers, while the community members have become super-numeraries with only little understanding for and interest in the so-called extended tasks of the school."

Bude's analysis indicates the complexity of the problems of linking school and community and the importance of local political, social, cultural and economic factors affecting success or failure. Some of the earlier literature on community schools was optimistic about the prospects for linking school and community. In 1969, Houghton and Tregear wrote:

> "A community school, attended by, supported by and above all understood by the entire community ... offers at least one means of bringing about the educational revolution ... (for) ... development ... Where there is an active community development programme in operation, the school can and should be one of its main supports, and where such a programme does not exist or ... is stagnating, the school can be a most effective agency in creating and revitalising it." (26)

More detailed investigations of community schools, like that in the Cameroon, are needed. Nevertheless, the current mood is pessimistic. Watson, surveying historical and contemporary community school programmes, offers six conditions which must, in his view, be met if community schooling is to succeed:

1. central government must give legitimation and financial support;
2. planning should take into account the different conditions and needs of different communities;
3. consultation with all participants is vital;
4. a situational analysis must cover possible psychological and cultural problems likely to be encountered;
5. the curriculum and the examination system of the schools must be relevant to rural needs but must in no way be perceived as inferior to urban curricula; and
6. teachers must be prepared for their extended roles in the community (27).

Martin argues on similar lines. He suggests also that community schools have a good chance of succeeding if they become the national pattern or at least have parity with conventional schools; in addition, he emphasises sound and flexible administration:

> "Unless there are administrative instruments for implementing school-community services and involving

> the community in the school affairs, such activities will be scattered and entirely dependent upon the individual dedication of teachers and community leaders." (28)

Moreover, he suggests, there must be real integration of academic and vocational components of the curriculum relevant to local conditions; vocational subjects must not be merely tagged onto the existing curriculum. Finally, he claims:

> "The success of community schools truly depends on the teachers." (29)

Sinclair and Lillis' conclusions to their review of earlier community schooling experiments also has many interesting, if sobering, lessons for enthusiastic innovators:

> "Past experience indicates that relevance programmes for school-going children are *not* an appropriate vehicle for the rectification of social and economic ills. This conclusion rests partly upon the difficulty of conveying the necessary skills and motivation to the thousands of teachers in a nation's schools. It rests in part upon the fact that school-going children are not well-placed to influence their elders in a traditional, or any other, society. It rests, finally, upon the observation that the amelioration of such problems as rural poverty and disease in school-leaver discontent, cannot be solved by unilateral action within the education sector ... If ... multi-faceted programmes have been instituted, the contribution made by explaining them to school-children or involving such children in related activities, is likely to be a minor, though positive one.
>
> It does not follow from these generalisations that *no* school can make a useful contribution to development in its environment. Under outstanding leadership such a contribution is possible. Nevertheless, such a contribution typically involves extension and counselling work with ex-pupils and/or adults as well as the relevant programmes for school-children. Work in school then becomes preparatory to participation in further sponsored activities after leaving school." (30)

Sinclair and Lillis end their review by suggesting three strategies whereby planners may meet success in innovations in community schooling. The reader should refer to their book for the details. But the important point to note here is that like many other commentators, they too emphasise that the teachers are crucial links between school and community:

> "The lessons of this study would seem to be that programme quality requires understanding, competence and personal commitment on the part of the educators concerned." (31)

(The footnotes to this chapter may be found, following the Appendix, on p. 49.)

CHILD-to-child PROGRAMME

International Year of the Child 1979

c/o Institute of Child Health
30 Guilford Street
London WC1N 1EH

HEALTH SCOUTS

THE IDEA

A healthy community is a strong and happy one. A community is healthy when the people who live in it:

- understand what they need to be healthy;
- know what services are available and how to use them well; and
- care about the health of everyone else.

Children can help in making their community a better place to live in and this activity sheet shows some ways in which children can do this, for instance by:

- finding out about the health care resources in their own community;
- passing on to their families and others important health information;
- caring about the health of others, particularly children who live near them, by helping their families make the best use of available health services.

WHO COULD INTRODUCE THE ACTIVITY TO CHILDREN?

- teachers of children in the upper classes of primary schools;
- youth leaders, who can also make use of health badges in organisations that have badge schemes, such as the Boy Scouts;
- health workers and others working in community health programmes.

Teachers and health workers can plan this activity together. Parents should be told what their children are doing and why.

THE ACTIVITY

Finding out about the health needs of the community

Surveys or "find out" projects give the children practice in collecting health information and making good use of it. Children can find out about the health conditions of babies and young children in their community.

Illness and death from diseases like tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, poliomyelitis and measles can be prevented if babies and young children are immunised. An important survey that children can make is to find out which children in their community have been immunised against these diseases.

Before carrying out the survey discuss with the children

- the reason for immunisation;
- which immunisations are common in your area?
- who provides them?

Perhaps a health worker could be invited to discuss this with the children.

To carry out the survey the children could make a record chart for babies and young children near them, with symbols for each of the most commonly given immunisations, e.g.

BCG - which protects against tuberculosis;

DPT - which protects against diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus;

Polio - which protects against poliomyelitis;

Measles - which protects against measles.

WHO has been IMMUNISED?

	Names	▲	■	●	◆
1	Arthur SSÓNKO	✓	✓	✓	
2	James KIWANUKA		✓		
3	Helen KIBIRIGE	✓	✓		
4	Sunday MUKAAMA	✓	✓		
5	Faye NAAMA				

▲ BCG protects against TUBERCULOSIS
■ DPT protects against DIPHTHERIA PERTUSSIS (Whooping Cough) and TETANUS
● Polio protects against POLIOMYELITIS
◆ Measles protects against MEASLES

Children can find out about children in their own families and can be made responsible for several households near them. They will need to ask parents what immunisations the children have had.

From this survey the children will have found out which babies and young children need to be immunised. Older children can tell mothers about immunisation clinics and they can tell the health worker which babies need to be immunised.

Finding out about the health services available to the community

Often in a community there are many people with different kinds of health knowledge:

- some people know how to make herb teas;
- there are women who help at child-birth;
- often someone knows about first aid;
- the various trained health workers.

Where can we get help quickly and which of these people is the best one to help? This information is very useful for all of us but often we do not have it.

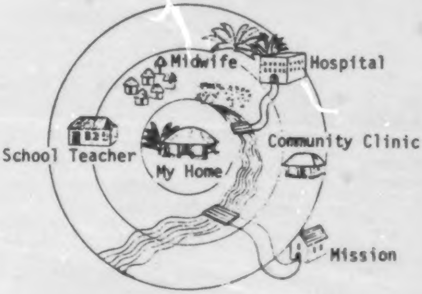
Children can find out about all the people in their community with some special health knowledge:

- where they can be found;
- what their special health knowledge is;
- who is the best person to go to.

Discuss these things with the children and let them make a list of all the people in their community who have some special health knowledge: e.g., clinic sister, midwife, herbalist.

They can discuss their lists with each other, and decide who they should go to for the different sicknesses that occur locally.

The children can make a health services map of their coummunity. On it they can mark where to go for help and work out the travelling time needed to get to each health helper. They can find out when and where special clinics are held.



Health Map for our Village
The circles represent each hour's walk from school or home.

The children could play games using their maps and asking each other, for instance, "If somebody gets burnt by the cooking fire, who will you get to help and how long will it take?"

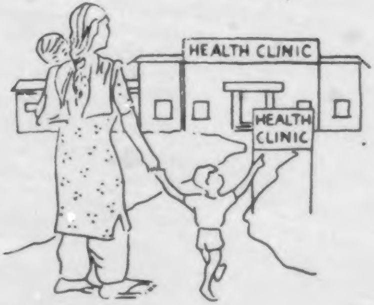
Children can pass this information on by making a play about getting help from different people, and show it at a village meeting or on clinic days.

Telling others about health services

Children can learn to pass on health information to parents, health workers and others. E.g.:

- Children can "adopt" a newborn baby in the family or community, and make a vaccination card to remind the mother when the baby is due to be immunised.

- Health workers can tell the school when they are to hold a clinic in the village, and school-children can visit homes in the area the day before the clinic to tell families the correct time and place. Each child can be responsible for telling several households.



- Each older child can be a health leader for a few households, and tell the health worker where help is needed, or pass on information from the health worker to the household.

Helping to care for the health of others

There are many ways in which children can help in looking after the health of other children. For example, they can become helpers at the health clinic. Teachers and health workers would need to plan this together, but some ways in which children can help are:

- weighing babies and filling in charts;
- organising play groups for children waiting with their mothers. Toys and games could be made and brought along to amuse young children;
- acting as interpreter for mothers and health workers, to pass on instructions for feeding programmes or treatments;
- helping to cook at feeding demonstrations;
- helping to clean up at the clinic.

Other ways for older children to be health members might be to:

- run simple first aid clinics at school;
- make toys and games for child minders;
- prepare food for younger children at school;
- bring young children to the clinic;
- "adopt" a younger child in the school and notice when it is sick or needs treatment for sores;
- make health posters and notices.

Let's keep fit!

Other activities for children

Other surveys which children can carry out:

- find out where diseases occur in the area. They pass on the information to health workers, or use it as a basis for a health campaign. Who have been sick or had an accident in the past year? What sickness did they have? What time of the year was it? How often did they have it?
- find out about local medicines: What plants are used? Who knows how to make up the medicine? When is it used?

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CHAPTER 3

THE TEACHERS

"1. The teacher is the key man in the entire educational system and programme of a country. The success of the educational reform in Zambia will thus depend on the commitment, competence and resourcefulness of the teachers in the system.

2. The teacher's role has many aspects. The teacher should communicate knowledge in a manner that helps children and young people to develop both the desire and ability to learn. This means that the teacher must be able to diagnose the learning needs of his students, assess their educational progress and help each one of them to achieve the best of which he (the student) is capable. The teacher should, therefore, have good command of the subjects he teaches and be resourceful in translating his knowledge into effective learning experiences for his students.

3. In addition to imparting knowledge to his students, the teacher should also be concerned with the development of each student's personality. Accordingly, the teacher should encourage his students to develop themselves into self-reliant individuals and guide them in forming positive and acceptable social values in life. He should also stimulate his students' interest and encourage their positive role in the welfare of the school, the community and the nation.

4. Every teacher has a role to play in the healthy existence and growth of his school or institution and in the development and practice of a spirit of

collective responsibility. In this connection, teachers have a professional duty to assist each other, and more experienced teachers have a special responsibility for the guidance of newcomers to the profession.

5. Another aspect of the teacher's role relates to the connection between educational institutions and the community. Schools and colleges cannot fulfil their proper function unless they are truly in the service of their communities. The teacher can, and should, seek to play a crucial role in this endeavour. He should develop a sense of belonging in regard to the community in which he lives and works. He should make proper and effective links with the community, not only to assess their needs but also to participate in fulfilling those needs. He must be willing to share his skills and knowledge with the community at large; and to do his share of production work if the task at hand requires this service. He should help in the process of raising the literacy of his neighbours as one who has been more fortunate, rather than one who is their better. Thus, the teacher should be a leader in his community, but one who should willingly and whole-heartedly participate in the development of the community.

6. Further, the teacher as an individual should contribute to nation-building through loyalty to the state and participate in solving national problems. Thus he should be able to have an insight of various political, social, economic and other problems beyond his local community and also have an appreciation of the problems of the international community of which he is also part. This enables him not only to be a teacher of students but also a teacher of other people outside his classroom.

7. The teacher cannot play his various roles successfully from a position of mediocrity. Good teaching demands that the teacher should not only possess a correct attitude and adequate knowledge of the subjects he teaches but also keep abreast of developments in those subjects and in the objectives and methods of teaching. The teacher should not be

> satisfied with either his present knowledge or his professional competence, but should make every effort to develop further in order to grasp new techniques and knowledge and cope with the rapidly changing Zambian society. Without a deep understanding of the society around him, the teacher is in a very weak position to serve his community properly and effectively. The teacher must, therefore, actively seek to develop himself politically, academically and professionally." (1)

In 1977 the Ministry of Education in Zambia put forward the above statement about the roles which teachers are expected to play in the national educational reform. Such passages can be read in the pages of many a national development plan or documents from international bodies. They look to the teachers as key figures not only in educational development but also in the community. This excerpt commenting on the role of primary school teachers in the Malagasy Republic gives the flavour.

> "Above all, the teacher is an educator in the real sense of the word. He may be compared with a craftsman who knows his trade, who loves it, and who fulfils his task with care and competence.
>
> But the teacher must also prove that he is capable of undertaking other responsibilities, notably with regard to action of a co-operative nature. Moreover, he must be an energising force for social life in the village. This implies that he lives a life similar to that of the farmers, and also that he becomes well acquainted with the people he lives with, enabling him to analyse their living conditions and their difficulties.
>
> Finally, the teacher, in his educational task and in his relations with the villagers, must be capable of inducing children, youths and adults to deliberate on the cultural or technical habits which hamper development. He must be able to propagate forceful ideas which can instigate and support developmental efforts. He will thus act as an intermediary between the more or less specialised services and the people he lives and works with in their mutual action to bring about progress.

> Clearly, the task of the teacher is not an easy one. His presence in the village will be as a man facing many difficulties. A farmer's working life is not separated from his family life or from his leisure. Thus, technical and psychological matters are closely related, each problem concerning man in all aspects of his personality and life." (2)

Unlike a great deal of the literature on the multiple roles of teachers, the Malagasy document at least recognises that the tasks expected of teachers are very demanding. There is sometimes an unfortunate assumption that since teachers have traditionally been involved in the community, they can continue to be so - even under vastly changed conditions. Before the days of national development planning, teachers' responsibilities outside the school were largely a personal and informal affair. But today, the implementation of many community-oriented national schemes depends on the teachers' willingness and ability to take on these extra tasks as part of their duties.

A visitor from another planet would have difficulty in reconciling the visionary pictures painted above of the roles and responsibilities of teachers with the reality, in almost any country he visited. From official documents and reports, the visitor would have an impression of teachers as highly competent, versatile and committed professionals, greatly valued by society. On investigating further, talking with teachers themselves, their professional associations and the general public, the visitor would discover that teachers are often under-educated, poorly trained and of lowly professional and social status. As government employees they are apt to be regarded as jacks-of-all-trades. Job satisfaction is low, and the more ambitious and mobile teachers move on to better things as soon as they can. How, the bemused visitor must ask, can such a poor quality teaching force possibly play such a crucial part in development? In the following pages we examine in more detail some of the contradictions outlined - perhaps over-dramatically - above. We ask who exactly are the teachers and what are their characteristics and qualities.

In the last chapter we noted that teachers are widely considered as vital figures in successful community-oriented programmes but they are not the only important factors. The school's particular socio-cultural and economic environment is important. So is the political context within which development programmes are undertaken. The school community involves not just teachers but pupils, administrative and supervisory personnel, management bodies, parents and other community members. The inanimate resources of schools, such as buildings and facilities, teaching materials and the actual curriculum in practice (as contrasted with the official document) provide a unique environment in which the human team must operate. The idea that teachers are the crucial figures in establishing and developing school-community links presumes that they can act competently as managers and co-ordinators of all these elements, channels of communication between school and community and interpreters of the one to the other.

Teacher Education and Training

Who, then, are the teachers responsible for acting out these multiple roles in schools and community? A recent (1981) survey for Unesco (3) gives comparative worldwide data on the education, training and qualifications of primary and secondary teachers. Here we concentrate on the information concerning teachers for primary and basic education.

The Unesco survey reveals that the average age for entry to teacher training is about sixteen. But there is a wide range; for example, Nigeria has to accept entrants as young as eleven due to acute teacher shortages while China takes entrants as old as twenty-one years. As a generalisation, we can assume that the majority of newly-qualified teachers are very young in countries attempting to achieve rapid expansion of their educational systems and their teaching force.

Most countries surveyed by Unesco are moving towards a policy which demands at least nine years of schooling for entry to teacher training but, again, some are forced to accept lower educational qualifications. Sometimes, as in Rwanda and Nigeria for example, a longer teacher training course of five or seven years compensates to some extent for the low entry level. Nevertheless a few countries are unable to demand more than nine or ten years schooling with one or two years of teacher training. The survey identified twenty countries in this category, all in the middle or poorer groups. In addition, three countries can provide no more than ten years of schooling and training combined. In these countries the level of education of primary teachers is very low indeed.

During the 1970's there was a world-wide tendency for teacher quality to improve, at least in terms of the number of years of initial training required and the level of qualification awarded. Eighteen countries represented in the survey now offer teacher training at upper secondary level and many industrialised countries are moving towards an all-graduate teaching profession. All countries are keen to improve the level of education and training of their teaching forces, not the least because teachers need higher levels of subject competence and specialisation to cope with up-graded school curricula and the demands of modern approaches to classroom teaching in the context of universal and all-ability schooling. Professional bodies also encourage higher levels of qualification in order to enhance not only professional competence but salaries and status too.

But many developing countries recognise that overall improvement in the quality of the teaching force is many years away. For one thing, escalating costs of extended training and higher initial salaries for teachers place a severe constraint on educational budgets. For another, severe shortages of teachers mean that teacher training institutions must continue to accept less able school leavers who enter teacher training with low professional motivation, regarding it merely as a means of continuing their formal schooling. In addition, many countries still have to rely on large numbers of untrained teachers. Despite sometimes heroic efforts to provide low-cost on-the-job in-service training, many serving teachers for years to come will have inadequate training or none at all. As enrolments expand up the school system, teachers recruited to teach at the lower levels of primary schools may have to be upgraded to teach at higher grades without adequate background or preparation.

The case of Nigeria illustrates some of the problems of low teacher quality for many countries with policies of rapid educational expansion. Uche (4) points out that in 1966 only 36 per cent of primary teachers in Nigeria were untrained. He continues:

> "But the recent introduction of the UPE scheme has resulted in extraordinary demands for teachers. Because of the acute shortage and the great demand for teachers, a balanced recruitment will be made from the categories listed below:

> 1. people who have not been able to enter secondary school because of poor academic background;
> 2. people who have dropped out of secondary schools because of poor academic performance;
> 3. people who attempted and failed the school certificate examination; and
> 4. people who have failed in other occupations - civil servants, traders and so on."

He comments:

> "Teaching at the primary level has never been popular. An acceptable qualification at the primary level is the Grade II or I Certificate. Teachers who obtain the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) automatically qualify for teaching in secondary schools or teacher training colleges. This means that it would be unthinkable in the next decade to see a graduate teacher teaching in a Nigerian primary school. The result is that primary schools will continue to lose their good teachers because the latter will eventually study for better qualifications. This is today a hotly debated issue surrounding the falling standard of our education." (5)

Teacher Mobility

Apart from the overall shortages of teachers, there is an additional problem highly relevant to the roles of teachers in the community. Rapid teacher turnover in schools is a feature in many countries (6). This is sometimes the result of a deliberate policy to maintain a balance between experienced and inexperienced teachers in each school and to rotate teachers between urban and rural centres, as is done in the New Halfa district of the Sudan (7). But it may also be the result of the need to fill vacancies due to wastage or the transfer of teachers. Some want to move out of the difficult and isolating conditions of rural schools, others to posts near their homes or to urban areas where amenities and career prospects may be brighter. In the Cameroon, as we see from the tables below (8), most teachers work in or near their home community, but the length of time they spend in any one school is very low, little more than a year in the most isolated rural communities.

Table 1. *Teachers' Home Community (Birth Place) in Relation to Present Working Place*

Birth place in:	Absolute frequency	Percentage of all teachers interviewed	Cumulative adjusted frequency (percentage)
School Community	39	16.5	16.5
Same Division	121	51.1	67.5
Same Province	46	19.4	86.9
Other Province	29	12.2	99.2
Other Country	2	0.8	100.0
Total	237	100.0	100.0

Table 2. *Indications of Teachers Mobility According to Community Type*

Community Type	Average time per teaching assignment (years)	Average age of teachers	Average number of postings
(1) Isolated Rural Communities	1.34	26.0	4.2
(2) Remote Rural Communities	1.96	30.4	5.6
(3) Marginal Rural Communities	2.06	28.0	4.7
(4) Poorly Served Rural Communities	2.08	29.0	4.4
(5) Well Served Rural Communities	2.12	31.7	5.4
(6) Urban and Semi-Urban Communities	2.26	30.4	4.5

Table 3. *Reasons for Transfer Application Given by Teachers*

	Absolute frequency	Percentage of all teachers interviewed
Getting settled in home area	3	1.3
Lack of farm land	2	0.8
Living near family and relatives	47	19.8
Bored with former place	9	3.8
Remoteness of community	8	3.4
Reasons of health	29	12.2
Quarrels with parents	4	1.7
Bad relations with headmasters	1	0.4
Bad relations with colleagues	1	0.4
Tense relation with villagers	5	2.1
Preparation for Government Common Entrance Exams	1	0.3
Try to become government teacher	5	2.1
Others	15	6.3

As one commentator puts it with reference to Anglophone Cameroon:

> "For continuous work in a community ... a minimum duration of employment is essential - the basis for trustful co-operation between teacher and population can be created only if the teacher works in the community for several years." (9)

Feminisation

A factor often linked with rapid teacher turnover is that the proportion of female teachers is steadily rising. Again the situation in the Cameroon typifies many:

> "Lady teachers are posted to urban areas or to well served rural communities ... In many remote rural areas girls are still severely under-represented in primary schools. The few girls who complete the primary cycle are looking in vain for a female teacher who can help them with their special problems.
>
> Lady teachers in such places could serve as good examples to convince parents to send their girls to school. They could try to get the local women involved in any attempts to improve their living conditions. With an emphasis on practical work and community improvement in Environmental Studies, the women cannot be left out." (10)

Teaching provides an opportunity for women to enter modern sector employment while managing a household and family. In many countries female teachers tend to be mobile, moving from school to school as their husbands' work dictates. Many lack commitment to teaching and drop out on marriage or when family responsibilities dictate and finance allows. But, as we have seen in the case of the Cameroon, the presence of female teachers is important for the education of girls and for community links. Female teachers must be encouraged to come forward, and ways around the problems caused by rapid female teacher mobility must be found. Bangladesh is a country where exciting opportunities are arising for women to enter primary teaching. For cultural reasons, educated village women have in the past found it difficult to enter teaching (11). Now, under its Universal Primary Education Programme 1981-1986, Bangladesh has a generous quota in favour of women applicants for teacher training. They undergo a specially-designed initial training course and have continuous on-the-job support from supervisory staff. Given that muslim village women will probably be happy to remain in their home communities to teach, they represent a valuable potential community link.

Status

It is a commonplace observation that the feminisation of teaching has a detrimental effect on the status of the teaching force. Women, it is claimed, are prepared to undermine salary levels by accepting low pay. They are said to lack militancy in the cause of professionalisation. These claims, combined with the problems of mobility and wastage, create fears that increasing feminisation is detrimental to the status of the profession. Many of these claims have yet to be fully substantiated; nevertheless they do indicate the status insecurity characteristic of the teaching profession. This is not a situation confined to the developing world alone, of course. As levels of schooling and education of the general public have risen over the last century, so the claims of teachers to any specialist knowledge and expertise have fallen. But in countries where, in the interests of national development planning, governments have taken over complete control of the teaching force, professional autonomy is limited. In addition, salaries and conditions of service are rarely commensurate with those of professional groups with which teachers like to compare themselves (12).

The insecure and ambiguous status of teachers as professionals has meant that they and their associations have been (understandably) reluctant to utilise the services of other people in society who can potentially make a contribution to the education of the community. This is despite worldwide recognition that the potential of lifelong learning resources in society are not fully exploited. Paragraph 5 of the Unesco "Recommendation to the Ministries of Education", 1975, reads:

> "With the development and the continued diversification and enlargement of the function and programmes of educational establishments at various levels, the need may arise to use other professionals and specialists in the education system on a full-time or part-time basis to participate with the teachers in the realisation of the education programme. This practice should be encouraged ... provided that educational responsibility remains in the hands of qualified teachers." (13)

Paragraph 7 of the same document reads:

> "The same analyses would be applied to other personnel appointed to assist teachers and school administrators in non-teaching duties, both in the administrative and in the technical sectors, in order to improve the efficiency of the school and the teacher." (14)

If the teaching profession can gain greater competence and confidence the situation may be eased. Less strict boundaries around the profession, a less narrow definition of who shall and shall not be called a teacher, can increase the ability of professional teachers to act as links between school and community and to encourage the growth of "learning communities".

Teachers and Society

The professional status of teachers relates to their social status. And their social status, in turn, has implications for their roles in the community. In the past, as has been widely documented, teachers in developing countries, especially in rural areas, often had high social status (15). Writing about the years prior to 1945 in Guyana, Bacchus suggests that teachers enjoyed high prestige:

> "... both the 'moral character' and the religious persuasion of individuals were considered important for their appointment as teachers ... In addition, teachers were expected to play an active part in the religious activities of the churches ...
>
> The village schoolmaster was also a very important figure in the rural community, often serving as a village councillor or even village chairman ...
>
> ... they traditionally enjoyed relatively high status in the villages. The local citizenry not only respected their position, but often sought and followed their advice on important issues." (16)

In many other countries, too, the authority and respect accorded to teachers derived from their status as educated individuals in unschooled communities, from their positions in religious or governmental institutions and their helpfulness to local people in dealing with the complexities of modern life. Many teachers were involved in the independence movements in their countries and became respected political leaders (17). But many who did not, nevertheless saw teaching as their lifelong vocation, in a period when other opportunities were limited. The village schoolteacher who spent long years in the same school, a highly regarded member of the community, is still remembered with respect by many of today's adults.

But in other contexts, teachers - at primary level at least - have not enjoyed high social status. In parts of Asia where, under colonial rule, there were other attractive professions open to educated people, teaching did not enjoy the prestige it had in Africa and the Caribbean. Teaching was often a desperate last resort. As the Kynnersley Report in 1902 on Singaporean education suggests:

> "... local teachers are generally persons who become teachers because they can get nothing else to do, their English and their general education are of the poorest quality, and in very many cases they become teachers for a time only, and eagerly embrace any other opportunity that offers of getting employment." (18)

These perceptions about the social status and prestige of teachers, whether good or poor, are not confined to the developing world. In many Western countries in the early nineteenth century, the status of teachers was very low (19). But in one or two countries, Scotland and Norway, for example, the opposite was the case. It seems, therefore, that the status of teachers depends on local social, cultural, economic and professional factors at any one time and can rise or fall as conditions change.

Today, however, in developing countries, it is generally felt that teachers suffer from a low public image. Many reasons are put forward for this; teachers no longer have a monopoly of modern knowledge and skills; the low standards of entry to the profession, less deferential attitudes in societies in general, and public disillusionment with the pay-off of schooling as a means of gaining desirable employment. In addition, teachers often fail to live up to the high, perhaps unrealistically high, expectations which society holds of them. Not only are they criticised for being under-qualified "birds of passage", but some are unable to live up to the stringent standards of personal and moral conduct set for them. One teacher training text for Nigeria suggests:

> "Teachers are usually expected by parents to have high moral standards and to set a good example to children ... Young teachers may find that they have to be particularly careful not to offend their elders in such things as smoking, drinking and enjoying the company of the opposite sex." (20)

Obviously, for teachers to be effective in community relationships they have to command high personal as well as social esteem. Teachers who lack motivation, maturity and experience may well be unable to cope with the social pressure towards conformity with community standards expected of them.

We have painted a dismal picture of the teaching force in many developing countries. Their youth and inexperience, their low levels of education and training, their lack of commitment and poor professional and social status are all factors which affect their willingness and ability to carry out effectively:

> "... the important role they are called upon to play in the local community as professionals and citizens, as agents of development and change ..." (21)

This is not to denigrate the great efforts which countries are making to improve the quality of their teachers through better pay and conditions of service, through better education and training and more professional support on the job. Nor should the efforts of many competent and dedicated teachers be forgotten. Nevertheless progress will be slow. Meanwhile, we must ask what duties and responsibilities teachers can realistically undertake.

Duties and Responsibilities

One sympathetic account of the difficult conditions under which primary school teachers in Africa, Asia and Latin America work, claims that the teacher:

> "... is put in the position of being asked to do the impossible and then blamed for not achieving it". (22)

Teachers, it is suggested, are often "remote in knowledge and sympathy" from the rural communities in which they work. The tasks which they are asked to do are rarely explained to them, and in the absence of clear goals they understandably cling to examination-oriented teaching as the only standard they have. Syllabuses are usually very heavy, rigid, ambitious and dominated by the selection examinations. The demands of the curriculum would be heavy even on highly trained teachers with every facility, whereas, in fact, untrained or poorly trained teachers have to cope without text-books, cupboards and teaching aids in classrooms crowded to overflowing with children.

> "On top of this are new demands upon teachers that they should become community leaders, adult educators, agents for local development, self-reliant, do-it-yourself people. These demands come on top of the old, rather than in place of them so that the teacher is expected to do more rather than less, to evolve into a Robinson Crusoe with missionary tendencies." (23)

In addition to these "impossible demands" on them, teachers have a host of official and unofficial duties and responsibilities. These include occasional work as electoral agents, census officers and organisers of official events. Informal tasks include letter-writing, liaising with officialdom, participating in local cultural activities and religious festivals - activities which teachers have always done, often giving freely and generously of their leisure time. In the survey of teacher-community links in one area of the Cameroon quoted above, it was found that 80 per cent of primary teachers had been asked for help by the community on non-school matters (24), (see Table 4, p. 68). Interestingly, the evidence suggests that in remote Cameroonian communities where traditional institutions of local administration are still intact or in urban environments with large schools and many agencies, teachers are seldom called upon to help in community affairs. But their help is very highly appreciated in communities undergoing rapid social change and dislocation.

In countries where salaries are very low, teachers often earn extra income through a second job like private coaching, small-holding or shop-keeping. Indeed in extreme situations, they may regard this as the major occupation and teaching as a side-line. In such situations, absenteeism, lack of punctuality, poor preparation and minimal involvement in classroom activity will be typical. Time and energy for sustained community tasks will inevitably be very low.

In this chapter, then, we have identified the roles in schools and communities which teachers are expected to play in the contemporary context and have examined the characteristics and qualities of teachers and outlined their duties and responsibilities. In the next chapter we examine these tasks in more detail.

Table 4. *Community Requests to Primary School Teachers in Non-School Matters in the Cameroon*

Type of assistance desired	No. of requests	percent of all teachers	percent of all schools/ communities
- formulation and writing of letters	121	51.1	77.2
- loan of cash/ material support	97	40.9	72.2
- hosting of school-age child in the household of teacher	31	13.1	29.1
- counselling in agricultural matters	31	13.1	27.8
- counselling in family matters	29	12.2	27.8
- information on administrative regulations and government orders	27	11.4	11.1
- supply of medicine	21	8.9	22.8
- assistance in obtaining a job	20	8.1	13.9
- arrangement of permanent job in the administration	19	8.0	20.3
- payment of tuition fees	13	5.5	15.2
- counselling in calculations of all types	12	5.1	13.9

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CHAPTER 4

TEACHERS' TASKS

Core Tasks

The core tasks of teachers are those centrally concerned with the education of school children. They are the tasks to which, the evidence suggests, parents, pupils and society expect them to devote most of their energies. Teachers are expected to impart a set of knowledge, values and skills as defined in official syllabuses. Their success tends to be measured by the success of pupils in tests and public examinations. These are normally better at assessing academic knowledge and basic intellectual skills and so teachers devote most of their teaching to them. The score subjects are language, particularly reading and writing, mathematics, science and social studies.

Today these tasks are more challenging than in the past. The professional knowledge which should inform pedagogical practice offers teachers a variety of teaching styles and learning theories from which to choose. In addition, teachers have to learn new subject knowledge and absorb it into their teaching. They have to persuade parents that unconventional approaches to teaching and learning and to the new integrated subjects, are as worthwhile as the education parents themselves may have had. Teachers today are not expected to be mere transmitters of syllabus content but active participants also in the process of planning, implementing and evaluating the curriculum. At school level they are expected to work on the local interpretation of national goals and aims in terms of objectives for the school syllabus, the diagnosis of pupils' learning needs, the design of teaching-learning activities, the production of materials, the diagnosis of individual learning difficulties and the evaluation of learning outcomes.

Teachers today are expected to attend to the all-round development of their pupils. Intellectual growth depends on healthy social and physical growth. But attending to the health and welfare needs of children is a time-consuming and complicated task, if taken seriously. Teachers have to be on the watch to identify problems, communicate and liaise with the specialists and parents, devise strategies for improving matters and monitor progress. Teachers in small schools, living and working in poor conditions, teaching multiple classes, abilities and ages, must find even minimal attention to the health and welfare needs of their pupils very demanding.

In contemporary circumstances the core role of teachers extends beyond the walls of the school. If they are to help their pupils achieve their full potential in school, they must gain the co-operation of parents as well. In the Cameroonian study, teachers made home visits between five and ten times a year. They went to persuade parents to provide text books, exercise books and uniforms, to send their children to school regularly, to collect fees and to discuss problems of health, poor learning and discipline. Such close contacts with the homes of pupils may be all the more necessary where the community mistrusts or misunderstands the purposes and work of the school.

Community-Oriented Schooling

Insofar as community and work-oriented programmes are becoming a regular feature of the school curriculum, the core tasks of teachers are multiplying. In most countries, national syllabus guidelines indicate the broad framework within which teachers should teach. But the task of filling in the guidelines with community-based material is a task which, ideally, teachers should do. They should conduct situational analyses to determine the needs, problems, resources and culture of the community, the work opport[illegible] available and the knowledge and skills needed by specific occupations which may be incorporated in the curriculum. They must adapt their pedagogy to practical, activity-based, problem-solving styles appropriate to pre-vocational and vocational training. Regular teachers may sometimes have to learn specialised vocations but more usually they need to identify and liaise with community experts who can directly teach their vocational skills. For this they need a general background knowledge and sympathy for the specific vocational field. They must also be prepared to store and maintain and distribute, sometimes costly and bulky, equipment and materials. If parents and the community are to accept a community- or work-oriented curriculum, teachers must listen to their fears and hesitations and explain the rationale behind approaches to schooling which may appear "unacademic" and hence unacceptable.

Extended Tasks

In their extended roles as educators of the community, teachers have many tasks. If involved in adult literacy, they must spend time outside school hours, motivating adults to want to achieve literacy, teaching them skills and supporting them as neo-literates. For these tasks they need to learn special skills of interpersonal communication appropriate to adults. They may need to devise locally-relevant reading material, suitable for adults, and culturally relevant pedagogical styles.

In their community role, teachers must participate in the initiation, conceptualisation, implementation and evaluation of community development projects. They must show a willingness to give of their own time. They must be willing to lend a hand either as specialists or in a general way. As we have seen, teachers are often called upon for informal support and advice by the community. They must therefore spend time actively listening to people, diagnosing problems, devising ways of solving them, counselling and following up advice with practical action. They can rarely relax in the community for they must always be open, approachable and ready to act sensitively in ways which promote and sustain community development.

Headteachers

Headteachers must carry out most of the above tasks and a number of others. In small schools they must act alone, in large ones they may be able to delegate some tasks to senior colleagues. One important responsibility is to give leadership and provide an example to other teachers in carrying out their core and extended roles - teaching children and adults, working in school and in the community. They must also encourage the professional development of their teachers, advising and supervising them, arranging for them to attend in-service programmes or study for higher qualifications on-the-job, or with leave of absence. They must create a team spirit amongst the teachers and try to develop a school philosophy which inspires their work. This involves much thinking, discussion, meetings and written documentation.

In addition, headteachers must represent the school to and in the community. Heads are probably the most crucial figures affecting whether or not school-community relationships are good. They must spend time preparing for, actively participating in and guiding the activities of managing bodies and parent-teacher associations. They must liaise and negotiate with individual parents and groups in the community in such a way as to create mutual respect and understanding. They must represent the school at community festivals and gatherings.

Headteachers have many routine administrative tasks also. They are usually accountable for the shared use of school buildings and facilities. They must administer school finances, fill in the numerous forms and files for officialdom and implement directives on the posting and transfer of teachers. All this, in addition to the professional and community tasks of headteachers, can amount to a very heavy responsibility. In rural areas, headteachers may frequently have to travel to the town or city in order to put forward the needs of their schools or to settle administrative problems. Time spent travelling is time lost in school and community.

A Community Role for Teachers?

It is obvious that the tasks of teachers are time-consuming and highly diffuse, requiring energy, commitment, sensitivity and specialised knowledge and skills. Let us remind ourselves of some of the conditions under which teachers may play a constructive community role.

First, there are *situational variables*. If the teachers are from the local community, speak the same tongue(s), follow the same religious and cultural traditions, then the chances that they can establish good school-community links are good. If the teachers are from different backgrounds, then they can still forge co-operative links if they show a sympathy and understanding for the needs and concerns of the community. All this is probably easier in a mono-cultural community. If teachers remain in the community for a number of years, the chances of establishing rapport are better than if they are transferred frequently. If the school is sited centrally for community life, teachers can more easily create community links. If the school is cut off by geographical features or politico-administrative boundaries from the community which it is meant to serve, teachers have to work extra hard to involve the school with the community.

Secondly, there are variables associated with the *expectations* which the community has of the school. If the community sees school-community co-operation as a normal and desirable feature of their lives, perhaps inspired by a national philosophy and the political will which creates a framework for local action, then teachers will be swimming with the tide in their attempts to forge community links. If the community accepts and supports the work of the school in work-oriented education and community development, then teachers have an easier task than if they try to give substance to such programmes against the expectations and motivations of the community.

Thirdly, there are variables associated with the *teachers* themselves. The diverse and challenging tasks which teachers are expected to undertake, demand of them versatility, creativity, flexibility, adaptability, sensitivity and commitment. Apart from a high degree of personal maturity, teachers need to have received a good general education and special training to create competence and self-confidence. They need professional, social and personal status if they are to participate constructively in community life and development. Some aspects of status emanate from the values and beliefs of the community. Teachers may be given high status because of their caste, lineage, income and age. Men may find themselves more esteemed than women. In other ways teachers *earn* the respect they are shown. A well-educated, highly trained and experienced teacher can give more competent leadership than an under-educated and under-qualified one, and is thus more likely to be respected. But above all, the acid test of teacher-community relationships is the degree of personal empathy, understanding, sensitivity and skill which individual teachers show in the community. Teachers may earn respect and status for the models they provide and the valuable contributions which they make to the education and welfare of the children and adults of the community.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDIES: TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Although the education and training of teachers is only one variable which can affect their competence and confidence to work with the community, it is, nevertheless, an aspect which is very important. For the purpose of education and training is to change people, building on their strengths and minimising their weaknesses, developing their awareness of the importance of community links and imparting the knowledge and skills relevant to their tasks. With awareness, knowledge and skills, the hope is that teachers will gain a positive motivation towards community co-operation. In the following pages, some contemporary programmes of teacher education and training with strong community-oriented components are described.

Tanzania

In Tanzania in the 1970's, there were two main policy thrusts behind the re-designing of the structure and curriculum of teacher education and training. The first was the decision to implement, nation-wide, the community school concept as described on pp. 17-18 above. The second was the need to implement Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 1977. In this context a crash programme of teacher training was begun in 1976. The main aims were to produce the extra 40,000 teachers needed for UPE and to train them to work in the community schools.

The Crash Programme

> "Students for this programme are primary school leavers. They are selected by the village education committee under the guidance of the ward education co-ordinator. They undergo three years of training with teaching practice of about 12 to 15 weeks for three days per week in grade/classes 3 and 4.

> Methods of instruction include:
>
> a) tuition by divisional and ward education co-ordinators for two days per week. They are normally assisted by the headteachers and class teachers of the practising schools;
>
> b) compulsory correspondence courses in principles of education, mathematics, Kiswahili and syllabus analysis;
>
> c) optional correspondence courses in English, geography, history and political education;
>
> d) radio broadcasts and audio cassette programmes in political education, mathematics, English, geography, home economics, Kiswahili and education;
>
> e) six weeks' residential training which involves revision of education, mathematics, Kiswahili, and syllabus analysis; two weeks of teaching practice with moderation before sitting for the National Examination in the four subjects.
>
> The award of the Teaching Certificate (by the National Examination Council) is based on passing (a) the four examinable subjects; (b) teaching practice; and (c) character assessment and attitude to work.
>
> The target originally set has been realised. A total of 35,058 teachers have been trained under this programme (1981). The general impression is that the programme has achieved its objectives. However, evaluation work continues.
>
> The D.T.T. (Distance Teacher Training) programme is still being pursued with an annual recruitment of 1,600 students." (1)

There are a number of interesting innovations in the Tanzanian crash programme. One is that the selection of teachers depends not merely on academic qualifications (completion of seven years' primary schooling) but also on character assessment by the village committee. Prospective teachers have to prove themselves worthy members of the local community, able and willing to participate in self-reliance activities. Once trained, teachers normally teach in their own region. The policy is to encourage teachers to work in their own communities whenever possible.

Another innovative feature is the teamwork approach to training. Student-teachers teach in the community and on-the-job, not in isolation from the community as in conventional college-based programmes. The tutors from the training colleges, inspectors, headteachers and practising classroom teachers co-operate to supervise their work. The college teachers and inspectors have had experience of primary teaching themselves - a factor given great importance by the authorities. The itinerant teacher educators (ward education co-ordinators) are key figures travelling around to guide and advise teachers in training and to liaise with the schools.

Curriculum of Pre-Service Teacher Education

The following passage explains the rationale behind reforms of the curriculum of teacher education carried out in the mid-1970's.

> "Teacher Education for Community Schools
>
> In general, curriculum reform in schools is not always accompanied by a parallel change in the teacher training programme. In-service courses are usually mounted for practising teachers ... but similar efforts are not always reflected in the pre-service training of teachers.
>
> The result is often that teachers 'distort' the new ideas to fit their old familiar methods and routines. The question is what changes are desirable for the community education programme? How should these changes be implemented and evaluated?
>
> The objective is to give trainees the knowledge and the skills as well as enabling them to acquire attitudes appropriate to the needs of pupils, the society and the nation at large.
>
> In March, 1975, the principals of teacher training colleges met in Morogoro and agreed to initiate a project in three Colleges of National Education: Korogwe, Katoke and Klerruu. The main

> objectives were to determine the extent to which initial teacher training can become effective pre-service involvement in the development of village coomunities; to devise a college curriculum which will take as the centre of its interest the development projects of village communities; to break down the artificial subject barriers between existing various subject specialisations in integrated curriculum areas; to develop a teacher education which will produce as the end product a teacher who will have the attitudes, knowledge and skills to enable him to effectively promote learning within the flexible curriculum of the community schools.
>
> In 1976, the project spread to a further five colleges. The proposed curriculum was reviewed at this meeting.
>
> In 1977, workshops were convened to prepare an integrated science syllabus similar in style to the environmental studies used in community schools. A social studies syllabus was also prepared.
>
> At present efforts are underway to plan workshops and seminars to give college staff further orientation in this approach." (2)

Recently the author was privileged to visit a number of Colleges of National Education (CNE). Self-reliance activities (SRA) are now actively carried out as a regular part of the curriculum. At Singachini CNE, for example, the 250 teachers in training, and 13 staff, work on poultry keeping, pig- and dairy-farming. They have 10 acres of maize, 2 1/2 of oranges, 2 of bananas and a 2 1/2 acre vegetable garden. In 1981, they made a profit of 1/4 million shillings which was spent on improving the college library, classrooms and offices. The students, all of whom are standard 7 school leavers (grade C teachers), work for forty minutes before classes and one-and-a-half hours in the afternoons. At times of pressure in the agricultural cycle, classes give way to productive work. The college prides itself on using improved agricultural methods, including hybrid seed and proper proportions of fertiliser.

At Marangu CNE, a much larger college but with a shortage of agricultural land, self-reliance activities include poultry, pig and cattle rearing on a limited scale. A notable feature is the active and responsible role of the elected student council which plans and implements all self-reliance activities, including agriculture, college maintenance and catering. Both colleges have well-organised, tidy and clean campuses. Such an environment for teachers in training provides an exemplar for them to follow in the community schools.

The Teacher Reorientation Programme

The Tanzanian authorities recognise that it is not just new teachers who need careful orientation for their tasks in community schools, but serving teachers as well.

> "The national concern for the in-service training of all teachers, in the content of various subjects, methodology and the personal behaviour that is appropriate to a teacher in the peoples' primary schools, has led to the organisation of re-orientation courses.
>
> The objectives are to introduce to practising teachers new syllabi, textbooks, teaching aids and improved methods all associated with continuing reform; to re-orientate the teaching force to the goals and ideals of education for self-reliance; to upgrade the knowledge, skills and professional abilities of teachers; to create in the teaching profession a climate of opinion conducive to experimentation and change, acceptance of basic education as a social rather than pedagogic concept, and recognition of basic education as the right of every individual and the first phase of lifelong education.
>
> Teachers are assembled twice annually at Grade A Colleges of National Education for four-week re-orientation courses. Curricula and syllabi for these courses have been developed by itinerant teacher educators (ITE's) and are subjected to recurrent evaluation and revision. Between courses teachers are visited in their schools by ITE's for further on-the-job consultation and guidance. There are 13 Grade A colleges

> which are engaged in the re-orientation programme. This number will soon be increased to fifteen." (3)

By 1980, the MTUU in-service programme had catered for 24,000 primary school teachers. Eventually 105,000 will have taken the courses.

Pre-School Education

In Tanzania children do not go to primary school until they are seven or eight years old. A new project is being implemented experimentally in 1982 in 40 pre-schools, each of which is attached to a community school (4). The aim is to prepare young children through play for their school experience, to encourage in them scientific and inventive attitudes and skills appropriate to community self-reliance, and to lay the foundations for language and number skills. The villagers who adopt the project will build the pre-school themselves while the Ministry of National Education applies the roof and equipment. Through a teacher-parent-committee parents will run the pre-school on a day-to-day basis, providing food, cleaning and tending the *shamba* (garden) alongside their children. The headteachers will be Grade A teachers (form 4 leavers with two years' teacher training). They will receive three months' special training in early childhood education. The Director of the project has long experience in this aspect of teacher training. Under each headteacher will be a number of assistant teachers, mostly village girls with seven years of schooling. They will initially receive one month's intensive training, the details of which are currently being worked out.

Noteworthy features of the pre-school education experiment are the close links between school and pre-school teachers, the active participation of the villagers in the running of the pre-school, the use of village girls as teachers and the involvement of parents in the self-reliance activities alongside their children.

Thailand

Klong Toey Slum School

In contrast to the nationally-directed Tanzania programme, the Duang Prateep Foundation in the Klong Toey Slum, Bangkok, which the author visited recently, is much smaller. It is the inspiration and pioneering effort of one person. Miss Prateep

Ungsongtham was herself born in the slum. When she was fifteen she opened a day school for slum children. She fought to develop it against the opposition of the authorities who were unwilling to recognise a school for unregistered slum dwellers' children. She also had to overcome the hostility of many slum dwellers who, themselves illiterate, feared and resented what conventional school represented.

Nowadays the Foundation organises a comprehensive and integrated social welfare programme in education, economics and health.

> "Primary Education
>
> The school has classes up to Prathom 6 (6th year primary). At the present it has 750 students and 31 teachers. Legally the school has already been given to the authorities, but the Foundation still supervises it and pays for all its expense, except teachers' salaries which are taken care of by the Bangkok Metropolitan Authorities.
>
> Pre-School Education
>
> Five nurseries in slums were opened under the auspices of the Foundation to take care of young children, allowing their parents to work outside their homes.
>
> 1. Klong Toey Slum Nursery in Klong Toey Slum with 300 children and 8 teachers.
> 2. Pattana mai, Slum Nursery in another slum near Klong Toey with 50 children and 2 teachers.
> 3. Chong Nonsee Slum Nursery in Yanawa district, with 75 children and 2 teachers.
> 4. Makkasan Slum Nursery in Phaya Thai district, with 45 children and 1 teacher.
> 5. Rama 4 Slum Nursery in Prakhanong district, with 60 children and 2 teachers.
>
> All the Foundation's projects adhere to the principle of stimulating and supporting the people to participate, take responsibility and manage the projects by themselves.

Educational Funds

The Foundation grants education funds to poor students in the slum at two levels, kindergarten level at 500 bahts (US $ 25) per year and primary level at 1,000 bahts (US $ 50) per year. In giving the grant, the Foundation's officials will visit the child's home, studying problems concerning the child and the family in detail in order to check their suitability for grant-aid. At present the Foundation grants educational funds to 307 children, who receive health supervision as well.

Economic Programmes

1. Low-priced goods programme. The Foundation acquires essential goods such as rice, sugar, for sale to the slum people at cost. At present 650 families in the slums join the buying membership, which will develop into co-operatives later.
2. Dress-making training programme. This gives training to house-wives and teenagers, and is in the first period with 27 trainees. After their graduation, there is a job placement programme and setting up of dress manufacturing units for students.
3. Job placement programme. The Foundation contacts firms or employers from outside for pieces of handicraft work and distributes the jobs among the unemployed; it also co-ordinates and solves problems in order to improve the slum people's incomes.

Financial or poverty problems among the people in the slums are the source of other following problems. The Foundation encounters numerous restrictions which prevent efficient remedies. What it is doing now is merely alleviating some of the immediate problems.

Social and Health Services

1. Lunch programme for slum students. About 1,300 students from three areas are receiving free lunches from this programme every day.

2. Distribution of soya-bean milk. This is given to under-nourished students and children in four slum areas. About 800 children are drinking this soya-bean milk every day.
3. Health programmes. The Foundation co-operates with the Volunteer Doctor unit in providing one mobile medical team and one local clinic. The Foundation also co-operates with the Family Planning Organization in its activities in the slums.
4. Social programmes. The Foundation arranges for moral training programmes for adults, young people and students. It also arranges for ordination of Buddhist Novices in the summer, and a training camp for the Muslims. A Model Family Competition is conducted in the slums by the Foundation to encourage slum people to be more diligent in their work and to pay more attention to training their own children.
5. Registration programmes. The Foundation co-operates with the authorities in surveying children without birth certificates and registration, and seeking solutions to the arising problems." (5, amended)

The following passage in the words of the founder conveys an idea of the community context to which teacher training had to be appropriate.

"Day-Care Centre

In fact the school really originated as a day-care centre. I turned the low-ceilinged ground floor of my old wooden house into a place where children could come and spend a few constructive hours. The parents paid one baht (USc 5) per day per child. Some could not afford even that but I accepted the children nevertheless. I did not realise at the time that opening even such a small unregistered school was illegal.

Primary School

The children enjoyed hearing the stories that I read to them so much that they asked me to teach them how to read and write. I then grouped them according to ability rather than age. Teaching and learning methods were informal. Text books and teaching aids were of course inadequate.

There were 28 children the first week. By the end of the second month, the school was accomodating some 60 pupils. There was no room for more and I had to stop accepting newcomers for a time. But after a little while, some of the older children stopped attending and went to work as soon as they had learnt how to read, write and count, so their places could be filled by newcomers.

Gradually the school became more formal. As time went on and the numbers of children increased, I realized that I could not cope on my own; so after discussing the matter with friends at the Teacher Training College, I enlisted the help of four students who volunteered to teach on a part-time basis. However, since they, like myself, also had their studies to contend with, I started to train some literate teenage slum youths as teachers assistants and usually paid them about 15 bahts (USc 75) per day each.

Crisis

The school might well have continued in this fashion for many years more if there had not been a crisis.

In 1972, the Port Authority needed its land for expansion schemes. It was announced that an area of the slum officially called Block 12 had to be evacuated. This was the area where the school was situated and where some 300 families or 2,000 people lived. ...

The result was that we were temporarily allowed to move further into the waste swamp land which the Port Authority did not need immediately for the expansion schemes.

The Community School

The community decided among themselves how the new block should be laid out, where the bridges and walkways should be constructed and who should build their houses where. Half an acre of land was set aside for a new school because the squatters still needed one for their children who did not yet have the necessary birth certificates to attend normal licensed schools elsewhere. Together the community took the initiative, organized the construction and contributed either labour or cash. There were many willing donors from outside ... Some university and teacher training students came to offer their labour and after some nine months of hard work, the school was officially opened on 6 July 1974 with a new name, 'Pattana', being the Thai word for 'development'.

The second building to cater for students of Prathom 3 (3rd year primary) was added the same way the following year.

Kindergarten

In the slum community, older children are expected to look after their younger brothers and sisters while their parents are busy working, and so if they go to school the little ones have to accompany them. This was naturally distracting in class and we therefore decided to open a kindergarten for the two- to five-year-olds. For this we needed yet another building, and this third building was completed in 1976. On the first day of opening we had 80 kindergarteners. We now have a maximum enrolment of 100.

Recognition by the Bangkok Metropolis Authority (BMA)

In 1976 came a further development which gave our school more stability and a firmer financial base. This was official recognition by the BMA. With recognition came payment of the salaries of 11 teachers for the primary classes out of regular BMA funds. Also promised, but not yet forthcoming is a headmaster.

Vocational Training

Our next step will be the Apprentice Skill Development Centre, the first of its kind to be initiated at the urban level by the private sector. We want to be able to equip the children to get skilled employment rather than the 'dead-end' jobs which they are usually compelled to take now. On the ground floor of the two-storey building presently under construction will be the workshop, where, to start with, at least, the boys will learn carpentry and the girls dressmaking. For this we have already been promised ten sewing machines, and a few resource persons have offered to teach. Training for other lucrative occupations such as plumbing, electrical repair and maintenance will be introduced in the future.

Upstairs the building will be divided into three classrooms to house the three additional years of primary classes necessary now that the Thai Government has extended the former four years of compulsory education to seven years.

Emotional Care

Gradually, and inevitably, with the evolvement of the school from a one-room day care centre to a three, soon to be four, building school, has come formalization of the curriculum and discipline. However, we have tried throughout to keep the background of the children in mind and to look after their mental and physical health as well as their education.

1. Being a trustful friend

Unhappy children may need someone to listen to their needs. Our teachers make themselves available at all times. We encourage the troubled children to speak their minds.

2. Being the second parents

Our teachers always try to keep the school like a loving home. Useful guidance is given, advice offered and for really difficult children, punishment used as and when the situation warrants. But we try to avoid punishment if at all possible. Praise and small presents are occasionally given to those who have done good deeds.

3. Solutions to problems

When a child has a problem or he himself is the problem, the teachers try to look into the matter carefully. Normally the problem has arisen as a result of poverty and negligence on the part of the busy parents. The teacher will suggest various alternative solutions but will encourage the children to select what they consider the best one themselves.

4. Building up confidence

One of our teachers' roles is to help the slum children build up their needed confidence. We keep reminding them of their future and telling them that they will be part of the force contributing to the betterment of society. At the school there are a few ongoing activities which help the children exercise their responsibility and acquire the sense of achievement necessary to boost their self-confidence.

Health Care

Naturally we are also extremely concerned with the physical health of our pupils. Thanks to the generosity of various organizations and individuals we now have a concrete one-storey health centre in the school compound ...

In order to try and prevent the children from getting ill in the first place, we try to instil elementary principles of hygiene and nutrition in the school. The pupils are given physical check-ups and they carry out 'water usage' drill to teach them how to get really clean, using the least amount of water. We explain the importance of keeping the hair clean, of washing hands before meals, of wearing neat clothes, etc. At the beginning many children came to school unwashed, wearing only ragged shorts or a grimy sarong. Now they are spick and span, and they are able to tell their parents that washing is by no means a waste of water ...

Teaching Personnel

Finding sufficient teaching personnel to cope with the ever-increasing enrolment has always been a problem. Originally I was on my own. Then as the day-care centre expanded to a unregistered school, fellow teacher training students volunteered to help teach on a part-time basis. This was quite a sacrifice on their part for a number of reasons. First of all they had their studies to attend to and then, after graduation, teaching at an unregistered school could have been detrimental to their careers. Apart from that, the allowance was of course very meagre. We also had a few university students who came to help when they could, but all these volunteers, although valuable, were irregular. I, therefore, started to train some literate teenage slum youths as teacher assistants. They were employed full-time and paid about 15 bahts (USc 75) a day out of the one baht per day students' fees ...

... the four kindergarten teachers are paid out of regular voluntary contributions from local individuals and organizations.

Thus, we now have almost a full complement of teachers and are only awaiting a headmaster who has been promised us by the BMA.

Teaching Equipment

During the early days, there were only blackboards and chalk as teaching aids. The children had nothing but one pencil and one exercise book each. Textbooks too were very inadequate as there were very few to be had and the pupils had to take turns looking at them.

We have gradually managed to solve this problem by acquiring more materials through kind donations from various sources. Wherever possible we have asked donors for specific items and have requested contributions in kind rather than always cash. So although this question of teaching materials is a constant headache, we now have a fairly good supply." (6, amended)

The primary school teachers are now trained conventionally in the teacher training colleges. These have a long tradition of community-oriented programmes (7). The B.Ed. programme for secondary level student-teachers at Srinakharinvot University, for example, incorporates eight weeks of field experience in village community development. Idealistic young teachers volunteer to work in the Klong Toey Slum School in preference to more conventional schools. The kindergarten teachers, however, are not provided by the state, though local colleges now help to train them (8). They are mostly girls with ten years of schooling who were themselves brought up in the slum and who still live there. They participate in an orientation course, sensitising them to the problems and needs of slum children. They also have up to twenty days a year of in-service training. They learn principles of child development, how to develop children's intellectual skills through talk, how to organise educational games and activities, and how to communicate and work with parents, especially the mothers, in encouraging children's social development and health.

In many of its features the Klong Toey Slum School is similar to the Tanzanian pre-school project, though, of course, geared to the development of an urban community. It relies on the local community to provide teachers, girls who, with encouragement, should be able to relate well to the needs of slum children because they themselves are products of the same environment. The training programme relies more on in-service, on-the-job training than on pre-service training. In this way, theoretical studies can be directly related to the context in which the teachers teach.

North-East Thailand In-Service Training Programme

North-East Thailand is very disadvantaged relative to the Bangkok area. Five primary teacher training colleges there are collaborating in a project which builds on a tradition of earlier community-based teacher training programmes but has been given new inspiration by its current director (9). The central notion behind the programme is that teachers should work as community educators as well as in schools, since they form the largest group of grass-roots-level educated personnel. The five colleges run a fairly conventional pre-service training programme. Though there are plans in one or two of the colleges to go further, at present there are only two elements of the course which are community-based. One is the inclusion of compulsory "special" subjects in agriculture and home economics.

The other is the inclusion of a one- or two-day course on rural development, after which the students are expected to initiate a community education individual project as part of their teaching practice.

The in-service programme is more directly community-focussed. Newly trained young teachers are carefully selected as they leave college for their suitability as community educators in the Community-Based In-Service Project (CBIP). At regular intervals they meet at in-service centres situated close to a cluster of schools. Lecturers from the teachers' colleges participate in the in-service programme which emphasises literacy, home economics and agriculture. Modularised packages of learning materials are available. The teachers make instructional materials relevant to their own communities. The CBIP teachers are expected to take on special responsibilities for helping other newly-trained teachers in their schools in community-based tasks, thus disseminating the notion of teachers as community educators. As part of the project, the teacher trainers in the colleges are also encouraged to develop a community-based orientation. Some, for instance, have participated in local radio programmes designed for educational purposes. Some schools in which CBIP teachers work are enthusiastic about the idea of working in and for the community. Buriram school, for instance, spent Sundays building a rice storage container and a number of schools now grow vegetables for the local community.

Australia

Aboriginal Schools

The Northern Territory Department of Education in Australia is keen to encourage more Aboriginals to become fully qualified teachers. This policy is in accordance with the ideas expressed in a national workshop on "Education for Teachers in an Aboriginal Context, 1973", which recommended:

> "That an alternative system of teacher training for Aboriginal people wishing to teach in predominantly Aboriginal schools be investigated by individual institutions and States on the basis of utilizing the wealth of knowledge that an Aboriginal teacher can bring to the community in which he/she teaches. Furthermore, that provision should be made to ensure that this form of teacher

> education is not bound by the accepted forms and practices of teacher education in the white community. The graduate of this alternative teacher education programme would be recognized as an equivalent status teacher." (10)

In the mid-1970's, Darwin Community College and Batchelor College set up the Aboriginal Teacher Education Centre to train Aboriginal teacher assistants and teachers. In a recently proposed diploma programme, the aim is to provide a programme of teacher education for Aboriginals which is underpinned by the principles set out below:

> "a) It must give promise for a greater output, than at present, of assistant teachers and teachers for Aboriginal schools.
>
> b) It must ensure that the *teachers* it produces are fully qualified in the sense that they gain a nationally accredited award acceptable to all employing authorities throughout Australia which are seeking staff for Aboriginal schools, Aboriginal units in mainstream schools and for Aboriginal Studies programs in mainstream schools.
>
> c) It must accommodate the special needs of students from Aboriginal communities and take account of their cultures, life-styles and world views. Courses need to be structured to cater for students who lack formal European type entry qualifications, who prefer to study close to their own homes, who require regular contact with their communities, who frequently have social and cultural obligations which interrupt their studies, and who may require additional time to complete unit requirements.
>
> d) It must strengthen rather than erode the cultural identification of the students. At the same time, it must equip them with the levels of academic scholastic and cognitive skill and knowledge which are appropriate for effective work by assistant teachers and teachers in Aboriginal schools. In particular it must prepare *teachers* who are bi-cultural.
>
> The teacher education curriculum, in particular, must be bi-cultural. Both Aboriginal and European knowledge, skills, values and world

views must have a place in a curriculum preparing teachers for work with Aboriginal children and Aboriginal communities.

e) It must provide realistic terminal points for people who do not have the desire or the ability to proceed to the final nationally accredited award. Instead of creating 'failures', it must, as far as possible, provide success for students and so, help them to overcome the feelings of lack of opportunity, lack of confidence and lack of self-worth which are endemic in many Aboriginal communities. The terminal points provided must be realistic in terms of suitable awards and clear employment prospects.

f) It must make use of teaching strategies which are effective with Aboriginal students; this requires, among other things, that teaching staff know about and make use of informal, traditional Aboriginal learning strategies wherever possible in their teaching. Likewise, teaching and learning strategies presented to students in curriculum units must acknowledge traditional Aboriginal learning styles as well as modern European teaching and learning strategies.

g) It must make use of both European and Aboriginal teaching staff. European teaching staff must understand and respect Aboriginal culture; Aboriginal teaching staff need a strong identification with Aboriginal culture as well as an understanding of European culture.

h) It must provide a congenial social climate in which Aboriginal students feel secure and culturally comfortable. This is perhaps the most important characteristic of an education program catering for Aboriginal students, but it is also the most difficult to achieve ..." (11)

"General Overview of the Program

Assumptions

... A fundamental assumption made about this program is that its graduates will be employed as teachers and assistant teachers in Aboriginal schools and in Aboriginal units in schools, and as teachers of Aboriginal Studies in schools with predominantly non-Aboriginal pupils. It is further assumed that Aboriginal teachers and assistant teachers have the role of catalyzing changes in Aboriginal schools so that the schools become more responsive to the needs of pupils, parents and communities.

Purpose and aims of the program

The basic purpose of the program is the education of people who will work in Aboriginal schools:

a) as teachers and assistant teachers (infant and primary level; and
b) as catalysts for improved interaction between Aboriginal schools and the communities they serve.

Aboriginal teachers work in bicultural situations - many of them work at the cultural interface between the Aboriginal way and the European way in Australian society. Most Aboriginal teachers are among the group of Aboriginals who provide bridges between Aboriginal communities and European communities and who articulate the one to the other. They require therefore the knowledge and the skills which will enable them to interact effectively with Europeans and with European social institutions while retaining a strong identification with Aboriginal culture and an active association with Aboriginal groups. Aboriginal teachers must, in some way at least, become bicultural persons.

The specific aims of the program are:

a) to enhance the self-image of each student;
b) to develop in students solid competence in teaching; (this competence will include both

> modern European concepts of teaching skills and strategies and traditional Aboriginal teaching and learning styles and communication strategies);
>
> c) to encourage and assist students to broaden and deepen their understanding of Aboriginal culture in contemporary Australia;
>
> d) to develop in students the skills and understandings which will enable them to carry out skilfully their role as Aboriginal delegates to the European sector of Australian society;
>
> e) to prepare teachers committed to bicultural education and competent in bicultural teaching and (for students with a viable Aboriginal language) bilingual teaching; and
>
> f) to assist students to evaluate and use existing curricula and school structures to further the real needs of Aboriginal pupils and communities." (12)

The flavour of the Aboriginal-centred approach is illustrated by a few of the many course units in the four year programme: the whole course is divided into six strands - Education Studies, Curriculum Studies, Cultural Studies, General Studies and Options. In the first two years of Cultural Studies, students complete four units on comparative culture, each of forty-eight contact hours:

> "This program, based on a lively bicultural approach, compares structurally and functionally European and Aboriginal cultures. It has aims in three separate but interrelated areas:
>
> a) Aboriginal/self: to assist students to maintain and extend their identification with and pride in their mother culture.
>
> b) Other culture/you: to help students to understand the mechanisms that assist others (e.g. European Australians) to maintain and extend their cultural links.
>
> c) Translatability/us: to enable students to recognize differences in social structure, family organization, patterns of authority and so on; to encourage students to consider the degree to which their traditional life can be sustained in the face of increased alien intrusion.

There are four units in this series. The major themes - language, religion, law and leadership - are examined in increasing detail in Units 1 and 3, while the major themes - kinship, family, economics and politics - are treated in a similar cyclic fashion in Units 2 and 4. A range of minor themes is carried along with these major themes throughout the series.

Resource Materials

1. Trifonovitch, G.J. (1973). "On Cross-Cultural Orientation Techniques". Cultural Learning Institute, in Bristin, R.W. (Ed.). *Topics in Cultural Learning.* East-West Center, Honolulu.
2. Friere, P. (1973). *Education for Critical Consciousness.* The Seabury Press, New York.
3. Wallace, P. and N. (1977). *Killing Me Softly.* Thomas Nelson (Australia) Ltd., West Melbourne.
4. Anthropological literature concerning Aboriginals." (13)

In the last two years students learn about their own culture under the unit entitled *Aboriginals Today.*

"Aboriginals Today: Relating

Duration - 3 hours per week for one semester totalling 48 contact hours.

Description

In this unit students consider the relationship they have with other Aboriginals and with white Australians. Beginning with relationships within the family, students broaden their focus to consider kin and class relationships within their community, relationships with others in nearby and distant communities, with urban Aboriginals, with people of Aboriginal descent, and with white Australians. Relationships between Aboriginal organizations such as the National Aboriginal Conference, National Aboriginal Education Committee, Land Councils and the Aboriginal and white Australian populations are also considered.

Resource materials

Berndt, R.M. and C.H. (1970). *Land, Man and Myth in North Australia.* Ure Smith, Sydney.

Berndt, R.M. and C.H. (1977). *The World of the First Australians.* Ure Smith, Sydney.

Elkin, A.P. (1974). *The Australian Aborigines* Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Maddock, K. (1974). *The Australian Aborigines* Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, U.K.

Meggitt, M.J. (1962). *Desert People.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

McConnochie, K. (1973). *Realities of Race.* Australian and New Zealand Book Co., Sydney.

Stevens, F. (Ed.) (1972). *Racism: The Australian Experience.* Australian and New Zealand Book Co., Sydney.

Tonkinson, R. (1974). *The Jigalong Mob.* Cummings, California.

Aboriginals Today: Knowing

Description

This unit begins with an examination of Aboriginal epistomology. Similarities and differences between traditional Aboriginal thought and Western scientific thought are discussed and Aboriginal concepts of knowledge are noted.

Aboriginal cognition is also considered. Topics include visual memory, classification, cognitive style and conservation.

Resource materials

Elkin, A.P. (1977). *Aboriginal Man of High Degree.* University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Harris, S.G. (1977). *Milingimbi Aboriginal Learning Contexts.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico.

Kearney, G., de Lacey, P. and Davidson, G. (Eds.). (1976). *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians.* Wiley, Sydney.

> Kearney, G. and McElwain, D.W. (Eds.) (1976).
> *Aboriginal Cognition*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
>
> Aboriginals Today: Changing
>
> *Description*
>
> This unit considers the issue of socio-cultural change. Change is examined in the context of traditional Aboriginal attitudes towards change and is related to community development and progress. Students are asked to develop a personal statement on change, community development and progress in relation to issues which are important to them - community councils, mining development, ownership of pastoral properties, the administration of Aboriginal affairs, health, etc." (14)

The Aboriginal teacher training programme has some interesting features. As in other projects in Tanzania and Thailand, the aim is to train people from the community to teach in the community. In an attempt to adapt course requirements to the learning needs and culture of the student teachers, entry standards and completion times are geared to the capacity of individuals to complete the course, not to a rigid and inflexible timetable which demands that all students cover the course from the same starting point and at the same end-point. The detailed syllabuses outlined above, focussing on cultural awareness, emphasise students' personal development and sensitivity to community needs as much as academic knowledge of psychology, sociology and philosophy of education. But the course makes rigorous demands on the students in terms of relevant reading and is intended to be of a parity with other conventional teacher training programmes in Australia. It promotes the notion that the academic and professional rigour of a community-oriented programme need be no less than that of a conventional one.

Papua New Guinea

Teachers College Extension Centres

The Tanzanian, Thailand and Australian case studies focus on preparing teachers for work in their own communities, whether rural or urban. In Papua New Guinea, where communities are culturally and economically diverse and often isolated from one another, a number of initial teacher training programmes emphasise experience in remote rural areas as an essential component. In this way student teachers broaden their horizons and have the opportunity to appreciate cultures other than their own. The main emphasis of the Balob Teachers College Extension Centre programme, for example, is to encourage self-reliance.

> "Balob Rural Extension Centre
>
> The Markham Valley is the site of the Extension Centre of Balob Teachers College. It lies between Gapsonkeg Village and Gabmazung Station. The students leave the college and travel the forty kilometres to the Extension Centre at least twice during their two-year course. Each year they spend one week living and learning there with a Balob staff member.
>
> Most graduates when leaving Balob go to rural areas to teach. Sometimes they go to very remote places. Experience at the Extension Centre helps prepare the graduates for life in the rural areas of the country.
>
> The main aim is 'gradual development towards self-reliance'. Everything is done by the students themselves. Learning to do things for themselves is a very important part of their becoming effective teachers and builders of the nation.
>
> Rice, mung beans, soya-beans, bananas, peanuts, corn, sweet potato, sugar cane and pineapples have been planted. The rice, mung beans and soya-beans are ground into flour. The sugar cane is made into brown sugar. With these four foods 'nutrition biscuits' are made for breakfasts. They are fried in deep vegetable oil and contain at least 15 per cent protein.
>
> A group of students do all the preparing and cooking of food each day. Both male and female students have a chance to process and cook the food. The class is divided into five groups and each group cooks for one day.

Two temporary buildings have been erected as a dormitory and storage shed. Unfortunately, the former dormitory was destroyed by fire and the storage shed was blown down by a strong wind. The storage shed has now been replaced by a larger and much stronger grass-roofed building constructed with treated posts, the students themselves doing all of the work. An improved dormitory will be started soon. This will follow plans made by an architectural student at the University of Technology. It will have a grass-roof, treated bush timbers and sawn timbers with fly wire on part of the walls and waterproof paper on the ceiling. It is expected to cost less than K 500 (about US $ 600).

A fence has been built around a small part of the area (about 1.4 ha.) to keep out the local pigs. A well has been dug and lined with concrete pipes to provide clean and safe water. An oven is being built so other types of nutritious food can be baked.

Each group of students has responsibility for, for example, devotions, food, tools, first aid, sports and lamps. In addition, each group has experience of working in crops, house construction and other projects being undertaken at the time of their visit. Since the community school is nearby, Balob students also have the opportunity to observe and participate in the agriculture programme at the community school at Gabmazung.

During the week at the Extension Centre students have lessons in identifying plants and learning their names, estimating and measuring distances in metres, learning to recognize the size of a hectare, and studying rice and bananas.

The Centre has to face many problems. Sometimes it is very hot. Often it is dry and fire burns through the area destroying gardens and buildings. Pigs have also destroyed the gardens by digging up and eating the sweet potatoes and peanuts. The worst weed problem is nut grass with its enlarged root. It grows

> very quickly and seeds within about a month. It doesn't die easily when it is removed.
>
> At present, the Extension Centre does not operate continuously, so students stay for only a week at a time. For this reason they cannot have farm animal projects there. However, plans are being made to build two dormitories, a staff house, classroom and kitchen-dining room. When these are completed the Centre will be able to have classes of about 30 students there continually.
>
> Then, students will be able to learn many more skills, such as making simple tools and baskets; planting trees for timber and fruit; learning more about soil improvement, practices of rotation, green manuring and composting. This knowledge they will be able to pass on in turn to their pupils." (15, amended)

Sri Lanka

In-Service Training for Small Schools

Experience is also an important component of an innovative in-service teacher training programme in Sri Lanka. The Hingurakgoda Teachers' College initiated a programme to enable teachers to work more competently in small schools in rural areas. In Sri Lanka about 30 per cent of schools, mostly in less-developed areas of the country, have under one hundred pupils and only one or two teachers. The training programme is geared to helping rural teachers cope with difficult local conditions, to meet the needs of local communities and to initiate a wide variety of community development activities.

> "Preparatory Action for the Innovation
>
> A basic survey of six small village schools in the Polonnaruwa District, where the Hingurakgoda Training College is situated, was conducted by the teacher trainees under the supervision of the teacher educator. The main results of this survey concerned (a) the inadequacy of the TT programmes; (b) problems arising out of administration; and (c) curriculum and its irrelevance.

A. Teacher Training

Inadequacies in teacher training were demonstrated by:

1. The inability of the teachers to comprehend the nature of the socio-economic and cultural structure of the village.
2. Teachers' lack of understanding of the 'psychological structures' of the villager.
3. The problem of translating into action and reality theoretical knowledge about education and sophisticated teaching techniques.
4. Unsatisfactory relationships between teachers and villages.
5. Teachers' inability to use the resources of the village for teaching and development.

B. Administrative Problems

These arose from:

1. Applying the rules and regulations, meant for affluent and well-to-do schools, to rural schools as well, for example, with reference to
    a. admission age limits;
    b. re-admission and re-entry difficulties;
    c. five-and-half-hour time-tables;
    d. school holidays;
    e. closure and re-opening times;
    f. difficulties in using resource persons;
    g. disciplinary transfers; and
    h. teacher:student ratios.
2. Lack of incentives/rewards for teachers working in rural schools.
3. The poverty of the parents not taken into consideration in providing facilities.

C. Curriculum Issues

Irrelevance derived from:

1. The use of the same curriculum for all schools, irrespective of their facilities.
2. Ignoring the need for resources.

3. Using inappropriate teaching techniques - the same techniques as in developed schools.
4. Teachers' inability to relate learning to village life.
5. Teachers' lack of confidence in trying innovative techniques.

All these factors showed that there was indeed an urgent need to evolve a different approach in order to develop the small school in Sri Lanka. However, it was not possible to take remedial measures to solve all the problems revealed by the survey. Some factors were not only beyond the capacity of the Teachers' College but would also have been very time-consuming, for example, matters connected with

a. administration, and
b. curriculum.

Nevertheless, an effort was made to develop certain qualities and skills in the teacher relevant to the needs of the small school. The Teachers' College, Hingurakgoda, with the help of the Teachers' College Branch of the Ministry of Education developed an action-oriented plan to train the teachers already attached to small schools...

Objectives

With the above in mind, a programme of action was drawn up to train teachers for small schools. The following objectives were formulated:

1. To deepen the teacher's understanding of:
    a. the development problems faced by the rural people;
    b. relevance of education to rural development; and
    c. interdisciplinary thinking and cross-sectional approaches to problems.
2. To improve the skills of the teacher, enabling him to design and participate in village development programmes in a practical way.

3. To give the teacher an understanding of the nature and problems of the small school and its community.
4. To train the teacher in the use of the resources of the small school and its community.
5. To develop teaching methodologies suitable for the small school.

Implementation

The location of the first work-site was Dalukana, a lonely but a lively village, situated about 30 miles north-east of the Teachers' College, Hingurakgoda.

It is a small school in every sense of the word - buildings, staff and children. To this school, fifteen principals and teachers of the small schools in the district where the Teachers' College is situated, were invited. This number represents about 40 per cent of the small schools in the district. In addition, a representative from each of the villages was also invited. The whole group comprised thirty persons.

It was a four-day programme, including the weekend. This was to avoid disruption of the work in the small schools as far as possible. The problem of the number on staff did not permit us to invite more than one from each of the schools.

The Phases of the First Training Programme

1. *Getting to know the villagers: first day (evening)*
    - a. The venue was the school hall.
    - b. It was relaxed and there was no central direction.
    - c. Free discussion/small groups/informal.
    - d. Participants included very old men, women, youth and children.
    - e. Topics that came for discussion reflected the needs, resources and problems of the village.
2. *Preparation for the fact-finding mission*
    - a. Areas about which the survey was to be con-

ducted based on the discussion the villagers had with the participants and included:- the resources of the village; its cultural pattern; health and nutrition; mass media; and educational problems.

b. All the findings were to be oriented towards the development of the individual and of the total community.

3. *Fact-finding mission and field work*

   a. The time to visit the houses was fixed for the afternoon.
   b. Only selected houses were visited because of lack of time.
   c. Observation and discussion were the two important techniques used.
   d. Data findings were presented through pictorial and graphic forms.

4. *Observations about the fact-finding mission*

   a. The villagers were ready for the visits.
   b. The participants were confident in their relations with the villagers and showed respect for poverty and skills.
   c. The participants knew what to look for and were able to ignore other matters.
   d. The time was limited.

Outcomes

Based on the above facts, a small-scale positive programme of action was drawn up. This had two aspects. All activities were small-scale ones where immediate results could be seen by everyone. The time factor permitted us only to give the start in some of the activities. The rest of the programme was undertaken by the school, the rural development society or some other department, or by a voluntary association that joined in this programme. One of the main objectives was to instil in the teacher the idea of using various agents and sources for community education.

The participants were made aware that community development programmes would vary from place to place, depending on the resources and needs of the community. In this workshop a few activities were organised as a practical study so that the experience would be useful when teachers and others returned to their schools and villages.

Activities

1. *School-based*
   - a. sports gymnasium initially consisting of swing, balancing post, jumping pit, rope climbing, high jump post;
   - b. agricultural plot for the school, 100' by 100';
   - c. sports club; and
   - d. health programme.
2. *Village-based*
   - a. clearing a tank (reservoir) - this had not been used by the villagers because of a breach in the dam;
   - b. sewing classes for out-of-school youth;
   - c. preparing a volley ball court; and
   - d. cultural programme - where all villagers and teachers participated.
3. *Proposed activities*
   - a. net-ball court - the ball was provided;
   - b. fence for the plot to be constructed by the villagers;
   - c. first-aid box to be prepared; and
   - d. drawing up a curriculum based on needs and resources.

Use of Resources for Teaching/Learning

Apart from these activities, the teachers were also guided as to how to use the environmental and human resources for teaching learning situations; for example, the well, work-site, playground, and cultural activities. These were to be learning centres. However, no attempt was made to change the existing curriculum - though this was the ultimate objective. Different teaching techniques and methods more relevant to life and reality were to be followed so that learning would become an interesting and worthwhile activity, rather than a mere academic exercise.

For example, in the activities mentioned above, the children were given the specifications of the posts so that they could cut them from the nearby jungle. They also had to measure the length and breadth of the volley ball court and buy the rope needed to demarcate the area. The office-bearers of the sports club had to draw up programmes and write minutes of the meetings. They were related to learning situations.

Integration

A number of other departments and voluntary associations joined in this programme. The participants were able to understand various aspects of getting aid, advice and assistance from them. Health, Rural Development, Agriculture and Sarvodaya were represented at this workshop.

Inputs

Inputs were in the form of labour, equipment, stationery and clothing. These were supplied by various departments and institutions. The villagers supplied labour and assisted the participants in all such activities. Timber needed for the preparation of the sports activities came from the village forest. The much-needed utensils in the form of axes, knives and mammotees were given by the villagers. The balls and nets were provided by the Education Departments and Sarvodaya Movement. Help also came in the form of stationery and clothing from richer schools. The Health Department also presented the children with nutritive food items.

Evaluation

The teachers and village representatives were brought to the Hingurakgoda Training College after a period of three weeks for a three-day seminar with the following objectives:

1. To review and analyse the experience of the projects undertaken by the groups and identify the weaknesses and strengths and proposed solutions for improvement.
2. To develop guidelines to integrate all forms of learning for rural reconstruction.
3. To identify possible problems that arise in the working with other departments and propose strategies to overcome these problems.

This workshop was held towards the end of October, 1978, at the Hingurakgoda Training College. The participants were the same as for the previous one.

The first day was entirely devoted to the submission of reports of the projects undertaken by the respective schools. Representatives of health, agriculture, and public administration were present, in addition to the representatives of the Sarvodaya Movement, Sri Lanka.

General Characteristics of the Projects Undertaken

1. Most of the projects were ones where the results could be seen/achieved immediately or in the near future.
2. All projects were small-scale ones which did not require much capital.
3. All projects for economic development were agriculture-based.
4. Most of the programmes had had to face obstacles.
5. All obstacles had been generally removed peacefully to the satisfaction both of the innovator and of the village.
6. Improvements in relationships with Departments were reported.

Examples of Projects

1. *Agriculture-based*
    a. vegetable plot for the school, the yield of which was to be shared by the children themselves;

   b. clearing an area of jungle with the assistance of the villagers, for highland paddy;
   c. preparing land for the cultivation of cotton (land for this purpose was obtained from the villagers on a lease basis); and
   d. clearing canals for irrigation.

2. *Health-based*

   a. organising regular clinics with the assistance of the Physical Health Imspector (PHI);
   b. making first-aid boxes for the school and for the village;
   c. cleaning up of a bathing place for the village in the village tank (reservoir); and
   d. construction of lavatories, with advice from the PHI.

3. *Culture/Sports-based*

   a. organising a playground with the help of the villagers and the police department;
   b. organising a sports meeting for the villagers;
   c. organising a sports meeting between small schools.

4. *Education*

   Most of these projects were to be related to teaching-learning situations, drama, agricultural programmes, health, etc.

Innovative Features

1. Use of village representatives for workshop along with the principals and the teachers of the schools. This was the first time in Sri Lanka that villagers had been treated as equals in a workshop.

2. The village as the training centre of the workshop. This had a very great impact on the whole programme, for it was possible to provide practical and life situations for the teacher.

3. Disregard for the usual approaches adopted by educators in formulating programmes of development for the village - the office-centred approach, where there is central direction from the local office.

4. The method of getting the teachers and others to sit along with the villagers and discuss their problems, without preconceived notions of their education and professional competence." (16)

Sierra Leone

Bunumbu Community Education Centres Project

The Bunumbu Teachers' College in eastern Sierra Leone is the centre of an innovative project which aims not merely to familiarise teachers with rural life but to teach communication and productive skills, useful to their role as community *animateurs*. The basic idea is that the college should become a rural development centre and that teachers should teach both children and adults. The college initially worked closely with twenty pilot schools, renamed "Community Education Centres", within a twenty-mile radius of the college. In the first phase of the project, the head-teachers of the pilot schools were trained. Later, if the project gets off the ground, pre-service training through a specially designed curriculum will prepare teachers for their community roles. A considerable number of the student teachers will be mature men and women who can be expected to give leadership in community development.

The curriculum for teacher training is different from the conventional one:

> "a) In addition to the basic subjects of English Language, English Literature, Mathematics, General Science, Principle of Education, Methods of Teaching, and Physical Education, which constitute the Core Curriculum of the college, a team of Sierra Leonean staff at Bunumbu Teachers' College, working with Unesco personnel assigned to the college, has successfully spearheaded curriculum changes at Bunumbu, particularly in the fields of Agricultural Science, Commercial Subjects related to operating co-operatives successfully, Home Economics, Wood Work and Handicrafts, Community Development Studies, and Adult Education.
>
> All these fields are directly concerned with the rural orientation of the project. The Bunumbu Project has maintained the closest co-operation

with the local officials of the Government Ministries of Health, Agriculture and Forestry, Natural Resources, Social Welfare, Development and Economic Planning, and the Co-operative Department.

1) The students at the college take part in a variety of self-help schemes particularly in simple building construction and farming. The college farm has been developed to serve both as an outdoor science laboratory and as a means of growing food for the students themselves. The college farm is also used by agricultural extension workers for demonstration purposes with local farmers.

2) A significant innovation has been the introduction of discussions and experiments into the village community schools without a major increase in either the pupil/teacher ratio or the teacher's timetable.

3) Another basic principle pursued by the project is the training of community teachers to teach children and adults alike. For example, a teacher may spend seven-tenths of his active daily working time teaching children and the other three-tenths teaching adults; and others are prepared to take over the supervision of school-age children in various aspects of parental as well as traditional education, including craft work, gardening and games." (17)

Canada

Rural Teachers' Programme

An initial training programme for teachers intending to work in remote rural areas of British Columbia, Canada, has been organised by the University of Victoria, British Columbia. It pays special attention to preparing students for conditions in small schools of two hundred pupils and not more than four classrooms.

"Introduction

Rural school districts in British Columbia are continuously faced with the problem of a high rate of staff turnover. Every year senior administrators endeavour to recruit new teachers for their schools, a task which is expensive in terms of time, energy and financial resources. Often the teachers hired are beginning their careers or are new Canadians from overseas. Both groups possess limited experience and knowledge of the British Columbia public education system. This situation, naturally, has an adverse impact on school climate, community-school relations, quality of education and continuity of programmes. A similar phenomenon exists in metropolitan areas where teacher turnover is high in 'down town' schools.

An unstable school staff has many long-term effects for regional growth and development. Parents are reluctant to remain in a community, if they are mobile, once they become aware that their children are being provided with an inferior quality of education. This intensifies the present trend of people to migrate to large urban centres.

Industrial development in northern regions is often hindered by shortages of skilled manpower. If local secondary schools are unable to offer a selection of career programmes, students move to communities where they can secure the education they desire. Few return to their 'home' towns to seek employment after graduation.

Existing teacher training programmes at the University of Victoria, were obviously not adequately preparing students for teaching positions in rural communities. A team of researchers under the direction of W.K. Cross (18) ... endeavoured to identify skills and characteristics needed by country school teachers." (19)

"Based on the findings of this investigation, a new preparation programme is being developed for students who are interested in teaching in rural areas and small school districts ...

The Elementary Rural Teacher Preparation Programme

The major objectives of this new programme are:

a. to provide adequate rural experience and course preparation for pre-service elementary teachers so that when accepting rural placement, they will do so with a realistic understanding of the rural community situation; and

b. to provide small school districts and rural schools with more realistically trained beginning teachers who will seek rural placement and tend to remain longer in such placement.

With the satisfaction of these objectives, the high teacher turnover in rural educational systems should be substantially reduced.

All students, who are admitted into the programme, will complete the third and fourth years of their studies at the David Thompson University Centre. This institution, a satellite campus of the University of Victoria, is located nearly five hundred miles from Victoria in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. In the immediate proximity of the Centre are a number of small school districts with a variety of rural schools. Therefore, students will have access to excellent teaching practice positions.

As part of their programme of studies, these students must: (1) have instructional experience in a multigrade class; (2) be involved in extra-curricula activities; (3) teach both at the primary and intermediate levels; (4) receive career counselling from staff or participating districts; and (5) participate in community activities.

Comment

The majority of vacancies for teachers are presently, and will continue to be in the future, in rural school districts. Staff turnover is high, because teachers are being inadequately prepared for professional responsibilities in a rural setting. The future development of northern and interior regions of British Columbia is going to be dependent upon the adequacy of manpower resources available to local industries. Therefore, it is imperative that rural schools are staffed by competent teachers, who are willing to remain in these schools for several years. This will enable senior administrators to organize school programmes so they better satisfy local educational and manpower needs." (20)

Recommendations which resulted from the study are as follows:

"1. All future rural teachers should complete a practicum in a rural school.

2. Student teachers from urban backgrounds need to experience rural living during their pre-service training.

3. Student teachers selected for a rural program must take a course in rural sociology or the equivalent.

4. Student teachers selected must be independent self-reliant people. They should be prepared for adaptation into and acceptance of the 'isolation' (both social and geographic).

5. Student teachers must be trained to teach both primary and intermediate grades in a rural school and should observe in Grades 8, 9, 10.

6. Extra funding must be provided for supervision, accommodation and transportation during rural practica.

7. Student teachers should be trained in communication and interpersonal skills to promote cooperation and harmony between school and community.

8. Student teachers in a rural program must be trained to organize and manage multigrade classrooms. For example, they must be trained to:

    a. use older children as tutors;

    b. implement individualized instruction;

    c. adapt units of instruction in science and social studies to suit various grade levels; and

    d. use individualized reading programs.

9. Student teachers in a rural program will need special training in:

    a. drama, art and music for all grades;

    b. P.E. for schools without gymnasia and/or poor weather play areas;

c. library skills - such as use of alternative reading materials (magazines, newspapers), organization of a library, care of audio visual equipment;

d. innovative use of equipment and supplies since delivery delays and orders made by previous teachers may not meet immediate program needs;

e. handling basic support services, e.g., behaviour abnormalities, physical handicaps, English as a second language, speech defects, programs for gifted and talented children;

f. organization of extra-curricular activities; and

g. basic educational counselling skills.

10. A rural training program must include a course in first-aid." (21)

Rwanda

Institut Supérieur Catholique de Pédagogie Appliquée de Nkumba

An in-service teacher education programme at Ruhengeri, Rwanda, goes even further than the Canadian one in attempting to integrate teachers into the rural communities to which they are posted. The *Institut Supérieur Catholique de Pédagogie Appliquée* selects teachers to participate in a special programme along with their families (22). In this way, teachers do not suffer the hardship of separation from their families if posted away from their homes, and they are, as it is hoped, better integrated into the local community. The practice of training teachers along with their families is by no means new in Africa - the Jeanes Schools in East Africa pioneered it. But the *Institut* programme combines this with a number of other carefully co-ordinated elements which together should add up to a worthwhile reorientation programme for serving secondary level teachers, once it becomes operational.

Teachers with five or more years' classroom experience are selected for the programme. One motivation for joining it is that the qualification is recognised nationally for promotion purposes and as equivalent to certificates gained at the end of more conventional training. Only thirty or forty candidates enter the course so that an intensive learning experience of a fairly radical nature can be arranged for them. At the same time, the schools are not depleted of too many of their teachers. Entry to the course is biennial to allow for modifications to be made in the early years. The families of the teachers have access to training in locally-based enterprises and crafts, and each has a little land to cultivate.

The teachers follow a curriculum with three main aims. The first is to enable them to reflect upon the economic and socio-cultural situation in Rwanda and the role of education in its development. This process of reflection has implications for the students' choice of subjects to study and their teaching methods with pupils. The second aim is to enable teachers to assume responsibilities with a sense of Christian commitment. The third is to enable them to use to the full their specialist knowledge and skills in teaching. The participants learn leadership skills, decision-making and self-evaluation through innovative teaching-learning methods (group work, practical exercises, seminars and locally-based research). They also undertake projects of a practical or manual nature in the community. (See Table 1, pp. 118-119.)

One significant feature of this innovative programme is the careful integration of "community" and "academic" components. This caters to the felt needs of secondary teachers for in-depth study of their specialisms and to their career aspirations; and at the same time, it attempts to create in them a sympathy for, knowledge of and involvement in the rural community. Another important feature is that the personal needs of teachers posted to rural schools are catered for alongside their professional ones. Urban-oriented teachers are encouraged to settle down comfortably with their families in rural communities. A third important element is that teachers are given time (two years) in which to adjust to radically new ideas and practices with intensive support from the *Institut* personnel. The project has been deliberately designed on a small-scale to give it an optimum chance of success.

Table 1. *Programme of the* Institut Supérieur Catholique de Pédagogie Appliquée de Nkumba

Formation Générale	Formation Pédagogique

Le milieu économique et socio-culturel rwandais: cadre de la formation chrétienne, humaine et professionelle
1ère année — h.
- Société en transformation: valeurs traditionelles et Société Moderne I 45
- Eléments d'économie politique 30
- Les grands ordres économiques et politiques internationaux 30
- Travaux d'atelier (menuiserie, électricité, mécanique, laboratoire, photographie ...) 60
- Un travail personnel (enquêtes) .....
Total: 18% 165
	1ère année — h.
	- Pédagogie fondamentale 60
	  - L'enfant dans le milieu familial
	  - Le milieu scolaire: objectifs et limites de l'enseignement
	  - Le milieu social: réflexions anthropologiques
	- Questions approfondies de didactique. 45
	  - Les formes du travail didactique I
	  - L'usage des médias
	  - Psychologie de l'apprentissage I
	- Techniques d'information et de diffusion (ateliers) 90
	- Stages, séminaires et travaux 180
	- Deux travaux personnels
	Total: 40% 375

2ème année — h.
- Société en transformation: valeurs traditionelles et Société Moderne II 45
- Notions d'économie rurale du Rwanda . 30
- L'insertion du Rwanda dans le monde économique et social 30
- Travaux d'atelier (cfr 1ère année) .. 60
- Un travail personnel (enquêtes)
Total: 17% 165
	2ème année — h.
	- Psychologie génétique: questions approfondies appliquées aux années terminales du cycle secondaire 45
	  - L'adolescent comme individu
	  - L'adolescent dans le groupe
	- Questions approfondies de didactique 60
	  - Les formes du travail didactique II
	  - Psychologie de l'apprentissage II
	  - Problèmes d'évaluation didactique
	- L'école comme phénomène social 60
	- Techniques d'information et de diffusion (ateliers) 60
	- Stages, séminaires et travaux 180
	- Deux travaux personnels
	Total: 42% 405

continued/

Table 1. *Programme of the* Institut Supérieur Catholique de Pédagogie Appliquée de Nkumba (continued)

Formation Chrétienne		Formation Spécialisée	
1ère année	*h.*	*1ère année*	*h.*
- Formation biblique: le message biblique I	45	- Questions spéciales dans l'option en cours I	60
- Théologie fondamentale I	30	- Didactique spéciale I	15
- Comportement chrétien I	30	- Critique des sciences: principes généraux	30
- Séminaires de catéchèse	30	- Stages et séminaires (cfr formation pédagogique)	
- Stages	30	- Travail pratique: réalisation de matériel didactique	120
- Un travail personnel		- Un travail personnel	
Total: 16%	165	Total: 25%	225
2ème année	*h.*	*2ème année*	*h.*
- Formation biblique: le message biblique II	45	- Questions spéciales dans l'option en cours II	60
- Théologie fondamentale II	15	- Didactique spéciale II	30
- Comportement chrétien II	30	- Critique des sciences appliquée à l'option en cours	30
- Séminaire de catéchèse	30	- Stages et séminaires (cfr formation pédagogique)	
- Stages	30	- Travail pratique: réalisation de matériel didactique	120
- Un travail personnel		- Un travail personnel	
Total: 15%	150	Total: 25%	240

NOTES

1. *Notes on Pre-Service and In-Service Education for Primary Teachers*. Unpublished Document. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, n.d., pp. 2-3.

2. Mrutu, J.A. "Teacher education for basic education: the changing role". In *MTUU: Basic Education - A Community Enterprise.* Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1979, pp. 55-61.

   For an analysis of Tanzanian self-reliance activities which points up the problems of implementation, see:

   Saunders, M. "Productive activity in the curriculum: changing the literate bias of secondary schools in Tanzania". *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* 3 (1982), No.1, 1982, pp. 39-55.

3. Mrutu, J.A. *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

4. Personal communication from the Director, Mr. Hilary Chowo.

5. Ungsongtham, P. *Some Problems of the Slums*. Bangkok: Duan Prateep Foundation, 1980, pp. 23-24.

6. Ungsongtham, P. *Development of Education and Welfare Programmes for Children in Klong Toey Slum.* 2nd ed. Bangkok: Duang Prateep Foundation, 1980.

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10. Darwin Community College and Batchelor College. *Accreditation Proposal for Diploma of Teaching (Primary), Associate Diploma in Teaching (Primary) with a Specialisation for Teaching in Aboriginal Schools.* Unpublished Document. July 1980, p. 11.

11. *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.

12. *Ibid.* pp. 24-25.

13. *Ibid.* p. 63.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 64-65.

15. Busse, D. "Balob Rural Extension Centre". *Papua New Guinea Education Gazette.* (September, 1978), pp. 241-242 (amended).

16. Ekanayake, S.B. *A Project on Teacher Training for the Development of the Small School in Sri Lanka.* National Advanced Level Workshop on Continuing Education for Teacher Educators, 26th February-9th March 1979. Colombo: Ministry of Education, pp. 5-10.

    For a similar project at the initial training level, see:

    Ekanayake, S.B. "Training teachers for changing roles in Sri Lanka". *Prospects.* 10 (1980), No.4, pp. 504-511.

17. Sogbandi, L.J. "Curriculum for the all-purpose teacher". In Bude, U. (ed.). *Curriculum für die Lehrerbildung in Afrika.* International Workshop in Lusaka, Zambia, 24 November-3 March 1979/1980. Bonn: German Foundation for International Development, February 1981, pp. 95-96.

18. Cross, W.K. *The Identification of Skills and Characteristics Needed by Country School Teachers.* Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, January 1980.

19. MacLaughlin, A. and Murphy, P. *Preparing for New Futures: Personalised Teacher Education in British Columbia.* British Comparative Education Society Annual Conference, 18th-21st September, 1981. Durham, UK: University of Durham, 1981, pp. 7-8.

20. Cross, W.K. *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

21. MacLaughlin, A. and Murphy, P. *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

22. Unpublished project documents. Nkumba, Rwanda: Institut Supêrieur Catholique de Pêdagogie Appliquêe, 1981.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

All of the case-studies described in Chapter 5, whether internationally known or not, have interesting innovatory or experimental features which may help point the way forward in teacher education and training for community development. On the whole, though, the investigations carried out for this monograph yielded disappointing results in terms of detailed descriptions or analyses of on-going programmes which prepare teachers for their community roles. There are plenty of suggestions, as we have seen, on what roles teachers should play in the community and numerous vague statements about how the curriculum of teacher education must be made relevant. There are also syllabus outlines for college-based training which allude to objectives and themes relevant to the community roles of teachers. But syllabuses do not give insight into what actually happens in practice, what priority in terms of timetable allocations community-oriented themes enjoy, nor the pedagogy and spirit of the programmes and the responses of teachers and community to them.

Low Priority

One reason why we hear little about contemporary innovations in this field may be that participants are just too busy to communicate their experiences to a wider audience. But on the basis of the evidence - or lack of it - we may have to accept that, for all the rhetoric, the community aspects of teacher education and training generally receive very low priority. It is significant that the 1981 Unesco survey, *The Education of Primary and Secondary School Teachers*, which looked at over forty countries, made not one allusion to curricula which included a community component (1). In the recent review, *In-Service Education of Teachers in the Commonwealth*, there is a similar gap (2). Martin's, *School and Community in the Developing World*, concludes that the preparation of teachers for their community roles is frequently neglected altogether, or, at best, done very inadequately (3).

If, as our earlier summary of the lessons of experience suggests, the teacher *is* the crucial figure in the implementation of innovations linking school and community, this is a very serious state of affairs. Failure to implement community-oriented programmes which have been given national publicity wastes money and leads to public disillusionment; the teachers bear the responsibility for failures at local level and lose heart; local communities, both adults and children, lose the benefits of what, on paper, promise to be useful educational and developmental programmes. While community-oriented programmes continue to receive low priority, those who oppose them will be able to claim, correctly, that they do not work effectively. Only when political direction, administrative support and adequate finance and resources are available, can their worthwhileness in practice be fully appraised. If a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well.

Cost

A major consideration in any developing country is, of course, cost. There are no published studies comparing the overall cost of conventional and community-oriented training. This needs to be done in terms of detailed analysis of differences in capital and recurrent costs. Even more valuable, would be analyses which compared the relative effectiveness of teachers in school and community with respect to the type of training they had. Such longitudinal research is difficult to conceptualise, design and sustain over a period of time, but the findings might help educational authorities to make firmer decisions about whether or not to invest in radical changes in the training of teachers. Investigations into the worthwhileness of alternative low-cost community-oriented strategies are also needed. There is a risk that, for instance, school- or community-based training which dispenses with the need for costly college buildings, may be seen as an attractively cheap way of training teachers. But it must not be forgotten that such approaches demand additional resources in terms of the training of mobile teacher trainers, transport, personnel and facilities for distance teacher training and teaching aids for the classrooms and community. Without these inputs innovations cannot succeed.

Quality

Many countries have had to concentrate on producing large numbers of teachers quickly in order to overcome acute shortages. Sometimes the wish to see all teachers qualified means that student teachers are put through the motions of a training programme to gain certificates but they perform as teachers little better than they might have done as untrained teachers. Now the tide is turning and *quality* in teacher education, and training is recognised as an important issue, both in terms of the cost of training and the implications for the quality of education in general.

Training for a community-orientation is all about quality. There is an urgent need for the sharing of information about the relative effectiveness of different approaches. The regrettable fact is that most accounts of on-going projects are disseminated to promote the sponsors, nationally or internationally, and not to share serious analyses of their strengths and weaknesses. Since many community-oriented training programmes are locally-based and on a small scale, there is a need to find ways of sharing more widely the lessons of their experience without impairing the autonomy and vitality of the programmes.

There is a need also for monitoring and evaluative components to be built into innovatory programmes from their beginning. National or international expertise may have to be used. But, ideally, such activities would be done largely by the participants themselves. Accounts of training programmes would describe their aims and objectives, the planned implementation, the process of implementation and actual outcomes, intended and unintended. Teachers in training and those who are attempting to put their training to use in school and community, would be important members of any monitoring and evaluation team.

Context

From the available evidence, it appears that there are certain background or contextual conditions which must be met if community-oriented innovations in teacher training are to have a fair chance of taking root:

a) national level support and resources must be forthcoming for the development of community-oriented roles for teachers;

b) educational authorities and other local agencies must be sympathetic to a community role for teachers;

c) the community must be willing to allow teachers to participate in the community and give guidance on the sorts of tasks it would welcome them undertaking; and

d) teacher training college lecturers, in-service personnel, supervisors, inspectors and head-teachers should themselves receive relevant orientation and training.

It is worthwhile emphasising the need for support at national, local and community levels. There may be limits to how far national or local authorities will tolerate new roles for teachers which involve their being trained as *animateurs* on Freireian principles of community conscientisation. In some contexts, from the point of view of the authorities, there may be a thin line between teaching for community development and teaching for subversive purposes.

Scope and Sequence

For this reason alone, it is important that those who plan and design community-oriented teacher training, need to be precise about what type of links they expect the teacher to forge with community. Many current schemes are confused in this respect. This review has identified the following roles and tasks for teachers in the community:

1. Teachers as teachers of children:

   a) "scholarly observers of the culture and social structure of the communities in which they practice", able to re-interpret official curricula guidelines into the community idiom, thus making learning more meaningful for pupils (4);

   b) co-ordinators of "a wide range of learning experiences based on the resources available in the community" (5);

   c) organisers of "activities which involve their pupils in serving local communities" (6).

2. Teachers as community developers:

   a) active participants in the life of the community, its daily work and pastimes, public occasions and cultural events;

   b) specialists in community education;

   c) partners in initiating and implementing community development activities.

Evidently these different roles and tasks require different training. We have seen how demanding they are and how difficult it is to devise effective training programmes. It seems sensible, therefore, to suggest that initial training should concentrate on preparing teachers primarily as teachers of children - their core role. Student teachers are often too young and under-educated to take on community development roles demanding authority, specialist skills and a sensitive application of training which comes only from experience. But limiting initial training in this way still involves training in 1.a), 1.b) and 2.a) above. To teach children effectively, teachers must understand their background and the context in which they live. They must have the motivation, knowledge and skills to use the resources of the community to bring the curriculum of the school alive for the learners. They must interact with the community in order to build up trust. More experienced teachers, on the other hand, may well be able to cope with roles in community education and development - their extended role. They are also in a good position to evaluate their personal suitability for such tasks and to make the most of in-service training provided for them, in terms of 1.c), 2.b) and 2.c) above.

Lifelong Teacher Education

In accordance with planning in this way, all teachers would undergo training which enabled them to utilise community resources to enhance the quality of their school-teaching. An extended community development role would be built on this initial training by further specific training for those teachers who welcomed it.

Teacher education and training must be planned in accordance with the principles of lifelong education. This notion tempts us away from a conception of formal schooling concentrated in a few years of childhood and youth as the only form of education. In a fast-changing world, schools cannot provide all the learning experiences which people need throughout their lives to cope with and to serve society. A system of lifelong learning involves building throughout life on previous learning in a flexible, co-ordinated and integrated series of steps. The learner uses the entire range of learning resources, personnel and agencies which society has to offer. Thus, the family, cultural and extension agencies, non-formal educational institutions and work experience supplement the school. In addition, lifelong education means that learners take active responsibility for their own learning. People must want to improve themselves and believe that they have the capability to do so.

School Curricula

The task of teacher training in preparing teachers for community roles is easier if student teachers have already had a schooling or other educative experience which has laid the appropriate foundations. School curricula should reflect the life and concerns of the community and encourage a positive attitude in learners towards participation in community life and respect for community knowledge and culture. This implies active rather than passive approaches to learning, learning from experience, by discovery and solving problems in co-operation with others. In addition, pupils should learn how to communicate effectively, not just with other children but with community members. Thus, the foundation is laid for everyone who has been to school to become a community educator.

With such a background student teachers would not find it difficult to appreciate and learn from community-oriented teacher training programmes. Yet hardly any of the literature emphasises the importance of appropriate, even pre-requisite, school experience for student teachers. In practice, school experience is often unhelpful, even antithetic to the development of positive attitudes to community roles. Schools tend to isolate pupils from the community, overvalue "academic" knowledge, disvalue community cultures and legitimate passive approaches to learning. Thus, teacher training has the difficult task of encouraging student teachers to unlearn years of inappropriate attitudes, values and knowledge.

Research is needed to discover what sorts of early educative experiences are most conducive to preparing teachers in training for their community roles. Where previous education is antithetic, we need to know more about effective techniques of re-orienting and re-educating people.

Selection and Recruitment

Ideally, candidates for entry to teacher training would undergo personality and aptitude tests to enable the training institutions to select those who had most potential for community-oriented teaching. A few countries in the developing world - West Malaysia and Ghana among them - are already reaching a position where selection criteria may be more rigorously applied. But the majority of countries must still fill vacant teaching posts as a first priority and therefore cannot afford to turn candidates away, whether or not they seem to have potential.

If national policy dictates that all teachers play a part in the community, then it is very likely that the majority of them will perform this role only poorly. A nation-wide training programme in countries with limited experience on which to build and scarce resources for teacher training can only offer a thin, diluted, community-oriented programme. Many of the teachers will be reluctant to step outside their conventional role in the first place and such programmes will do little to motivate them or give them competence and confidence. Although, for political reasons, it may be necessary for a country to advertise a community-oriented programme nation-wide, in practice, there appears to be a greater chance of achieving qualitatively worthwhile programmes if energy and resources are channelled into a number of small-scale, intensive innovatory projects, selecting participants who show potential and express willingness and enthusiasm to become involved. If these teachers, once trained, are posted to schools and communities where they receive sustained support and encouragement from other teachers, supervisory personnel and the community itself, there is a good chance that they will prove to be exemplary. In this way other communities may begin to demand teachers similarly trained and the innovation may spread. If the prestige of teachers trained like this rises, and especially if certain inducements and incentives are built into the career structure of teachers volunteering for such training and for community schools, then the problem of selecting good candidates for entry to training may at least be partly solved.

Local Posting

A number of the case-studies described in Chapter 5 work on the principle of deploying teachers in their local community. In Australia, the idea is that Aboriginal teachers will be acceptable leaders in developing and adjusting Aboriginal culture. In Thailand, girls from the urban slum are selected because of their knowledge of local conditions and their enthusiasm to play a helping role. Tanzania's approach is more radical. There, the community, as well as the teaching profession, plays a part in assessing the suitability of local candidates for training. There are obvious problems with this approach if applied rigidly. It may hinder the growth of a nationally integrated teaching force and encourage communalism. It may lead to frustration amongst those teachers who wish to follow their careers outside the local community.

Applied imaginatively, however, and with careful selection for community-oriented training of those teachers who are willing to work in their own community, the strategy has considerable merit. It implies that the authorities responsible for training and those responsible for posting and transferring teachers must liaise closely. Teachers in training must be consulted well before they are allotted vacant posts, in an effort to match their expressed wishes with their postings. Organisers of in-service training programmes must pay special attention to particular groups of teachers who may wish to work in their own communities. Female teachers and experienced teachers wanting to establish a base in their own area for eventual retirement are often in this category.

There is a need for creative experimentation in teacher recruitment and selection. Ways must be found of recruiting potential community-oriented teachers who lack standard academic credentials but have relevant life or work experience. One valuable source of community teachers which countries are now beginning to tap, is the literate village women. These people have much useful experience in child-rearing, household management and productive work, as the various projects described here recognise. Even illiterate villagers may find a useful role to play as assistants to teachers. There have been a number of work-oriented programmes, as we have seen, which attempt to use people from the local community with knowledge, skills and experience to offer the schools. The evidence is that it is by no means easy to integrate such people into the work of the school. Commonsense suggests, however, that it is worthwhile attempting to do so. There is a need, therefore, for dissemination of the lessons of experience and workable models where this has been done.

Initial Training

Special training for community teachers may cater for students who have yet to qualify to teach or for experienced teachers and community members, with or without qualifications. In this respect, the distinctions between pre-service and in-service, initial and continuing teacher education and training are unhelpful. But what, precisely, are the most fruitful approaches to initial teacher training implied by the evidence of the previous pages?

Teachers in training must gain experience of finding out about a local community, whether around a college or around the schools in which they practise teaching. This may take various forms:

1. Excursions into the community to work on projects related to their academic and curriculum/professional studies; for example,
    a) surveys of the homes, families, life-styles, occupations and pastimes of children, linked to studies of child-development, sociology and anthropology;
    b) surveys of learning resources available in the community and an exploration of their potential for use in enriching the school syllabus in various subject areas; e.g., resources like river life for environmental science, and resource persons such as village elders for history and social studies; and
    c) use of teachers' guides to follow up suggestions for community-based learning activities.
2. Decisions by students to invite community members to participate in the curriculum of the training programme; e.g., discussion of community politics, collecting local folk-tales, and imparting specific skills like poultry-keeping.

3. Participation by students and trainers in community development/self-reliance activities in the training institution or in the community. Sometimes the students take a lead, e.g., teaching adult illiterates; at other times they are junior members of a team, e.g., working in a health and hygiene campaign run by the health authorities.
4. Living in the community as its guests, sometimes combining this with teaching practice in schools.

The first element, then, of a community-oriented initial training programme is experience in the community. A second element involves the integration of academic learning with knowledge and sympathy derived from experience in the community. Students must explore critically, in the light of research in the community, concepts they learn in psychology, sociology and anthropology. Their study of national history and current development plans must relate to their community studies. Aspects of educational "theory" which do not illuminate experience or inform practice are redundant. A third element involves pedagogy. Student teachers must experience forms of teaching and communication which they themselves need to apply in their dealings with the community:

1. Techniques of teaching and working with adults should differ from those appropriate to children. (Yet very often student teachers are treated like children and in turn treat adult members of the community like children.)
2. Student teachers must experience modes of assessment which reflect and reinforce active, participatory, experiential and problem-solving approaches to learning. They should be assessed for their active, practical, community-oriented study, as well as for their academic work. They must become accustomed to self-evaluation.

The community aspects of initial training should not be isolated components but should pervade and give life to the whole process of education and training, just as teachers are expected to integrate their school and community roles once in the field.

From the guidelines suggested by this investigation, the framework for any initial community teacher training programme should incorporate these elements - experience of the community, integration of academic and community-related learning and culturally relevant pedagogy. But we need to accumulate far more information on working models, about how such programmes are given life in practice. What packages of learning experiences, for instance, provide a community survival kit for inexperienced teachers; how can the community help to train teachers; how can academic and practical aspects be co-ordinated?

Most initial training programmes still take place mainly in an institutional setting. There is much criticism, just and unjust, levelled at teacher training colleges for their isolation and insularity.

> "The pre-service teacher experiences a model of education in the college classroom that reinforces the belief that education takes place in isolation from the community. The pre-service teacher seldom moves out of the classroom into the public school or into the community. Not all teacher-training programs are conducted in this manner, but many remain between the two covers of the textbook and within the four walls of the college classroom. When the pre-service teacher does leave the college classroom, he replaces it with the classroom of the elementary and secondary schools. It is essential that the teacher training programs be modified so that pre-service teachers may expand their view of education to include the total learning environment - the community." (7)

It would be unrealistic to suggest that training in colleges and polytechnics will give way in the near future to on-the-job, community-based training. And even if it does, there may still be a role for partly residential programmes. We need an appraisal of the strengths and limitations of particular college-based programmes which seriously attempt to implement community teacher training. Successful models must be examined carefully before they are applied elsewhere. Hardly anything is known about the relative advantages and disadvantages of preparing community teachers in monotechnic as contrasted with polytechnic institutions. Although commonsense suggests that the latter provide more scope for the co-operative training of different community-oriented personnel, the monotechnic institution is much more common. We need to know under what cultural, political and ecological conditions, institutional training - whether mono- or polytechnical - can encourage community-based learning.

In-Service Training

Ideally, in-service orientation and training for teachers should build on their previous training and experience in community roles. But, in practice, in-service programmes may be their first acquaintance with such ideas. Commonsense supports learning theory in suggesting that for teachers to be enthusiastic about participating in in-service programmes of any sort, they should meet their expressed needs. In many countries, attendance at in-service courses is not voluntary. Thus, organisers and designers must exercise great care in ascertaining the needs, interests, problems and priorities of intended participants, both individually and as a group. Ideally, teachers should welcome opportunities to participate in planning the programmes and in giving feedback to organisers on their value, so that subsequent programmes could build on their experience. All this implies a willingness on the part of national or regional providers of in-service programmes to allow local initiative and control, both in the selection of participants and in determining the programme objectives and content. Such flexibility and adaptability to local needs is difficult to achieve in highly centralised administrations. Working models of successful partnership between central and local authorities in the planning and implementation of community teacher training programmes, are few and far between.

Training the Teacher Trainers

Almost all the proposals discussed above depend on the existence of teacher trainers competent and willing to implement community-oriented programmes. There is much criticism of the characteristic career pattern of lecturers in teacher training colleges. Typically they go from being at school, then college, then back to school as teachers and thence to teacher training college. Sometimes primary teacher trainers are themselves secondary trained. In any case, their community-based experience is probably limited. They reach the apex of their careers as teacher trainers and lack incentive to move on or to improve their professional competence. Frequently they are criticised in the schools, rightly or wrongly, for passing on out-dated pedagogies and theories. Teacher trainers who specialise in academic subjects tend to have more prestige than those who are also willing to participate in community-oriented teaching.

There is a lack of hard evidence to support these notions. We need to know far more about the qualifications, experience and competencies of teacher training college staff. Much more needs to be done to train teacher trainers for new roles, and case studies of successful practice must be disseminated.

It is important to recognise that teacher trainers comprise not only college lecturers but also inspectors, supervisors, advisers, head-teachers, innovative schoolteachers from whom their peers can learn, and members of the community. It is sometimes suggested that career structures should be adapted so that mobility is possible between some of these groups of people. Commonsense suggests that such a policy would encourage innovativeness and flexibility of approach. A number of countries are experimenting with advisory teachers who combine supervision with professional support to teachers in the schools. But there is no evidence to suggest whether or not such personnel adapt easily to community-focussed work, or whether additional specialists are needed, drawn, perhaps, from other community-based agencies.

This chapter has drawn out some of the implications of the survey for policy, practice and research concerning the preparation and support of teachers for their diverse and complex roles in the community. The most important message emerging from these discussions is that the training of community-oriented teachers demands a sustained and positive effort by all concerned, working as a team.

NOTES

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APPENDIX

A SURVEY OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TEACHERS AND VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN SRI LANKA, 1982

by S.B. EKANAYAKE, Principal, Hingurakgoda Teachers' College

The survey covered 5 of the 24 districts in Sri Lanka. It included two villages from each district. The number of schools was ten. The total sample is not representative but it does provide some up-to-date information on teacher-community links.

Report of School Personnel - Head Teachers, Teachers

Characteristics of Teachers in Schools

The population of Sri Lanka is mainly rural in character. Eighty per cent of the schools surveyed were rural. Most of them lacked basic facilities for teaching.

Few teachers serve in these schools. A larger number of them are from distant places. The ratio of teachers serving in their own village to that of outsiders is 1 to 5. The elderly and senior teachers are from the village or neighbourhood. This is because they return to their village schools or to the neighbouring ones after serving in difficult stations for long periods during their early career. Most of them return to attend to personal problems which have been neglected for a long time. Some of these personal problems are related to developing their lands, increasing their incomes and looking after the needs of family. However, for a variety of reasons, some teachers have been able to serve for long periods in their own village or in the neighbourhood. The majority of the younger teachers of the schools surveyed are either newly appointed to the profession or are just out of the Teachers' Colleges (TC's) after their final examination. They are generally not appointed to schools close to their home stations. However, exceptions are made, especially for women. A considerable number of those who serve as teachers in these schools are women. Most of them serve in their own village schools or in the neighbouring ones. There are very few women from outside who serve in the schools of the villages surveyed.

The adequate staffing of remote schools is a perennial problem. The terms of appointment of some categories of teacher require them to serve a stipulated period in these difficult schools. Being transferred to a remote school is in general disliked by teachers and is often interpreted as an act of political or administrative victimisation - which it may sometimes be.

A large number of the teachers in rural schools have either GCE 'O' level or 'A' level and are uncertificated. In addition, there are some trained teachers, BA graduates and those with the Diploma in Education. Over 50 per cent of the teachers surveyed are not professionally qualified (trained 49 per cent, untrained 51 per cent). This is because all newly appointed teachers with GCE 'O' and 'A' level - the largest number always to be appointed - are invariably posted to the rural schools. Even BA graduates serving these schools are not professionally qualified. Hence, most of the professionally trained teachers serving these schools are elderly and senior teachers. The survey revealed that the presence of trained or graduate teachers with the Diploma in Education provide quality, recognition and status to these schools.

Characteristics of the Community

The main occupation of the people is subsistence farming. Their main crop is paddy, the staple diet of the people. There are a few small-scale traders. Generally, the economic status of the people in the villages is low and they are in debt. Some are landless. The standard of living is low. A large percentage of the population is youthful. The villages lack basic transport, markets, media, banking facilities and extension services in the fields of agriculture and health.

The total number of people in the villages surveyed is 15,100. The school population is 5,125. The school-going population is 34 per cent of the total population of these villages. The percentage of school attendance is 70. Recent achievements of the children in these villages are as follows:

Success at GCE 'O' level	43%
GCE 'A' level	25%
Grade 5 scholarship examination	42%

A fair number of children in the school-going age are not in schools. The drop-out rates too seem to be high. Some of the other features revealed were high absenteeism, leaving of school at early ages and irregular attendance. These were some of the constraints that affect the efficiency of the teaching and learning in the school. The teachers and heads of the schools were of the opinion that these factors affected the morale of the school.

Links of Teachers with the Community

The survey indicated that the relationship between teachers and the community is confined to a few activities like the inter-house sports meeting, and entertainments. The relationship is of a very limited nature, both with teachers from the village and with those from outside. Community-teacher links are not strong in village activities. The reasons for this are the social and economic status of teachers. Personal animosities sometimes strain relationships. The low income of the teachers forces them to look for other means to improve their economic status. This distracts them from devoting their time to community development activities during their own time or during school hours. Since teachers devote between 5 to 6 hours of their time in school daily, they spend the week-ends and evenings at their personal work. Those teachers who are outsiders to the village, use their week-ends to go home to attend to their problems. Thus, there is not much time left for them to devote to improving relationships with the community. Even the participation of teachers at the school development society meetings, an organ that binds the school with the community, is not very regular. The survey revealed that the teachers, including those who are natives of the village, do not closely associate with the community. The general feeling seems to be that teachers who come from outside to serve in the village school should not involve themselves with the local community. However, there are some teachers who associate with the community, develop healthy links and assume leadership of the village.

A majority of the parents attend the school developmental council meetings. There were certain occasions where some parents had been requested to visit schools for special purposes. These were related to problems of their children. Parents also meet teachers in school concerning personal matters or problems, but this is very rare. Analysis of the visits of the parents to school is as follows:

Problems connected with the child	36%
Problems regarding school	33%
Matters related to the community	26%
Personal problems	5%

The curriculum of the school bears little relationship to the problems of the community; neither does the teaching take the everyday life of the community into consideration. Formal visits with the children to the community, or any out of school activities, are not felt to be very important. Nevertheless, in a limited way students in the school attend and sometimes assist in voluntary activities, like the construction of roads or repairing wells. Field trips and educational tours and other activities take children out of the school into the society.

Teachers are not averse to the idea of using community resources for teaching-learning purposes in the school, but little attempt has been made to achieve this objective. About 90 per cent of those interviewed indicated that they have never tried to do this. The few teachers who had made use of the community resources for teaching in the school, had sought the services of government officials at the grassroots level like the physical health inspector, agricultural instructor, medical officer and the bank manager. The non-governmental personnel included the priest and the village doctor.

Relationship of the Community with the School

Although with regard to specific activities the relationship between the teacher and the community is limited, the community sees the bond between itself and the school as very satisfactory. In only a few cases did the survey reveal any suggestion of strain, mistrust or suspicion. The evidence showed that the community did not believe in the philosophy of a 'community school'.

The principals of the schools indicated the need and the importance of a close liaison with the parents. They felt that the closer the relationship between the two, the more easily they could develop and maintain a healthy learning environment in the school campus. Constraints suggested by the principals in achieving this are as follows:

a) difficulties arising from the fact that teachers are outsiders to the village;

b) the ignorance of parents of the advantages that would result from a close liaison;

c) political associations;

d) the lack of school facilities and untrained teachers;

e) the use of learning material unrelated to life situations especially with regard to agricultural activities. It was felt that if learning were related to the needs of the community the drop-out rate would be reduced and even those who had left school might decide to become learners again;

f) the poverty of the parents;

g) the nature of the parents' employment. During periods of cultivation, preparation of fields, and harvesting, they are too busy to think of the school and of the education of their children;

h) the lack of an effective policy of teacher transfers. Some teachers were serving in uncongenial stations and away from their home towns for overlong periods. This makes them frustrated and they tend to lose interest in any type of extra work;

i) social and religious factors, which cause disharmony among the members of the community. This adversely affects the school too. And

j) the academic nature of the curriculum, which tends to encourage only those children who do well at the examinations.

Teacher Training and Support

The teachers are not trained in the locality of the school. Training is provided at the twenty-one teachers' colleges and these institutions are spread all over the country. It is quite coincidental for a teacher to have been trained in the locality of the school where he is teaching. The allocations of the teacher to a teachers' college depends on the subject in which he is to be trained. It is at this point that the teacher trainee has a choice. A teacher is not required to go to any particular college.

There is no special training programme on community activities as part of the training course, but in the process of their training, teachers are exposed to activities connected with community development, although these are not regular activities. Some teachers' colleges run special projects and activities involving community work, such as:

a) teaching practice programmes conducted in remote villages in the district of the teachers' college;

b) adult education programmes;

c) pre-school programmes for children in the neighbourhood of the teachers' college;

d) community development activities through voluntary services; and

e) integrated development programmes with the assistance of other departments.

The above activities are not part of the teachers' college curriculum but are worked out on the initiative of the individual college. However, there is official blessing for such programmes. Heads of teachers' colleges have sufficient freedom to embark on educational innovations.

Very few teachers in the survey have followed in-service training programmes on community activities. This is because community education does not play an important role in the curriculum of the school. However, the survey indicated that the trainees are interested in studying community development.

Suggestions for Improving Community School Links

1. Use of parents for teaching activities in the school.
2. Education of parents in this direction.
3. Providing a vocational-based educational system.

Report of Student Teachers

Characteristics of the Student-Teacher

It was found that a large number (75 per cent) of teacher trainees are from outside the district of the teachers' college but from the nearby districts. Most of them have served in difficult areas before entering college. In the teachers' college where the survey was conducted, it was found that 65.5 per cent of the teacher trainees are following a mathematics course, while the balance are taking the special course on primary education. The average age of a teacher trainee is around 30 years. The basis of recruitment for the profession in the recent past has been GCE 'O' level. Today it is GCE 'A' level. To follow a special course a teacher should have a pass in the related subject: a pass in mathematics at GCE 'O' level is, for example, compulsory for teachers following the mathematics course at the teachers' college.

Relationship with the Community

Most of the teachers possess a knowledge of the community in which they serve or where they undergo training. The attitudes of these teachers towards the country is one of understanding. They have a knowledge of the socio-economic conditions and culture of the people of the country. They adopt a friendly attitude to the community. They indicate their willingness to serve in rural areas. There were only a few who preferred to teach in their own village soon after their training period.

Links with the Community

Only about 20 per cent of the teachers had had any training in community education before entering the teachers' college. Those who had received training had worked for one of the numerous voluntary associations in Sri Lanka.

In the training programmes, there are opportunities for teachers to become involved in community work, but only a few participate in such programmes. This is because they are not compulsory components of the course. Some of the teacher trainees before entering the teachers' college had engaged in rural development activities in the schools where they had previously served. This experience had been very useful to them. They felt that the more they involved themselves in community activities, the greater the confidence they gained in participating in social activities. The teachers were willing to accept leadership in society, but they indicated that there were many obstacles to this, related to the economic status of the teacher, political influence and lack of a strict adherence to the policy on transfers. These factors generally discourage teachers from taking part in community development activities.

Teacher trainees undergo teaching practice in the schools near the teachers' college. This provides some understanding of the problems of the community they serve. Occasionally, teacher trainees are exposed to problems of the community through micro research programmes. These are in the form of studies on drop-outs, non-school-going children, use of local resources for teaching and learning, and rural technology. Sometimes, together with their lecturers, they stay for short periods in difficult or remote schools during periods of teaching practice, but these programmes are rare because of the financial burden they impose - they are not a compulsory part of the training course. Hence, their *ad hoc* nature and lack of continuity.

Report of School Pupils

Characteristics of the Pupils Participating in the Survey

The average age of the pupils interviewed was 17.3 years; male and female were evenly represented. Their mother tongue was Sinhala. They were of level Grades 10 to 12, i.e., GCE 'O' and 'A' level students.

The pupils had positive attitudes to their schools. They liked all the subjects taught in the schools. They believed that what they learnt at school would be useful in future if they wanted to qualify for higher studies. These young people preferred to pursue their higher studies in their own schools, rather than going to others. They showed an interest in seeing that their schools improved and developed. All these characteristics were indicative of their attachment to their schools.

Pupils' Perceptions of Teachers in Community Roles

The pupils indicated that a large number of teachers in their schools were from outside their villages. They were not considered as part of their communities. Nearly 98 per cent of the pupils interviewed expressed this view.

The pupils believed that teachers should be agents of change and play a leading role in developing the community. The pupils sometimes joined their teachers in social development activities in the village. They mentioned that some of the teachers were office bearers of various societies in the village. At informal gatherings and activities - as in the case of weddings, funerals, religious activities, etc. - teachers took leading roles. This is why the pupils believed that the teachers should assume leadership roles in all community activities. They further believed that community development activities should be made part of the formal learning programme.

Pupils' Perceptions of Teachers at School

The pupils learnt about society at school through subjects like social studies. They said that teachers drew their attention to the problems of society in the process of teaching. The pupils showed great interest in learning about their own society. They responded very favourably when resource persons from the community were involved in the teaching. Village-level officers from various departments, the priest from the village temple and the village doctor were some of those who had been to the school. The pupils also referred to occasions when teachers had taken them out of the school for field work to learn through direct observation and experience. They had visited the temple, airport, ruined cities, market places and factories.

General Comments

The students interviewed were willing to do any job that came their way in the future. However, preferences were as follows:

a) teaching - 70%, of whom 50% preferred to teach in the village school, 30% in the town and 20% had no particular preference;

b) police - 10%;

c) public health inspectors - 10%; and

d) employment in banks - 10%.

Report of Community Members

Attitude of Community Members to Teachers

Most of the parents seemed to know personally the principal and the teachers of their school, especially the ones who taught their own children. The parents felt that teachers should involve themselves in community activities: teachers should provide leadership to the community. In matters related to problems and social activities, they were of the opinion that the teacher should play a key role.

The parents felt that they had a right and a duty to look into school activities. Most of them indicated that they had participated in various activities connected with the school, like attending the school developmental society meetings, school education tours, voluntary service for improving the school, etc.

In the selection of teachers, the community had no power, but members of the community were critical of selections based on political affiliations: teachers should be selected on merit only. Parents had no idea of the curriculum of the teacher training programme, but they expressed the opinion that they would like to be consulted in these matters.

The parents felt that the main obstacles to a closer liaison between the teachers and themselves were as follows:

a) lack of support from the teachers;

b) lack of time for the parents to see to school activities due to their agricultural commitments; and

c) political interference.

The general opinion, however, was that there was a great need to improve community-teacher relationships for the betterment of the children's education and society.

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